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ABSTRACT

A cooperative presentation of the University of Missouri, St. Louis, Extension Division and the Missouri Department of Community Affairs, this project was designed as a reference for discussion groups of all types, to give perspective and direction in the search for an understanding of the complex situations which contribute to the crisis in American cities. The six papers presented include background information on specific problems and issues, possible alternatives, and theories on the results of different courses of action, and are entitled as follows: "The Emergence of the Black American," (Howard B. Woods); "Education in the Inner City," (D. Everett Thomas); "Jobs and Income," (Herbert D. Werner); "The Struggle for Shelter," (D. Everett Thomas); "Integration or Separatism: Which Way Do We Go?" (Anton G. Jachim); and, "Community Change," (Thomas J. Pavlak). (Authors/RJ)

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CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF THE URBAN CRISIS

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PREFACE

Causes and Consequences of the Urban Crisis is a cooperative presentation of the University of Missouri-St. Louis Extension Division and the Missouri Department of Community Affairs. The project was designed as a reference for discussion groups of all types, to give them perspective and direction in their search for an understanding of the complex situations which contribute to the crisis in American cities. From such an understanding, investigation should turn to the underlying causes and possible solutions to this country's urban problems.

The authors were requested to include background information on specific problems and issues, possible alternatives (with the pros and cons of each), and theories on the results of different courses of action. Since all papers were designed for use by discussion groups, none of them may be considered a scholarly endeavor. Rather, they should be viewed as a catalyst to guide citizens toward an understanding of urban affairs, which can be attained only through their own study and discussion. An increased understanding, it is hoped, should lead to an increased involvement in urban affairs.

Some authors have chosen to include a series of questions at the close of their papers to give more specific direction to discussions of the material, while others have elected to allow groups to choose the directions they consider relevant. None of the positions presented on any of the issues in question may be assumed to have the support of the co-sponsoring institutions; it can only be recommended that individual decisions be based on an honest consideration of relevant aspects of the issues.

Involvement is the key to the eventual solution of the urban crisis; this series is an attempt to promote involvement by concerned citizens, and to provide facts to be used by those who may be affected by decisions and ensuing action. Participation by those who will eventually gain by correct decisions is the best way to ensure progress toward making our cities better places to live.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE BLACK AMERICAN

by Howard B. Woods
St. Louis Sentinel

In 1619 the first black men were brought to America, not as slaves but as indentured servants. Among English settlers it was common for a man to become an indentured servant in order to pay his passage to America or to pay some other debt. The blacks were all indentured servants and readily recognizable by color.

In Boston in 1640, three of these servants, one of them black, were caught running away. The two white men had four years added to their period of service. The black man was ordered by the court to serve his master for life.

Early in 1660, the word "slave" appeared in Virginia law and men legally became the property of masters in the plantation system of America. On that day, the systematic oppression of a people because of their color started in earnest.

Slavery did not have its beginning in America. Since the early days of biblical history, man has enslaved his fellow man. Among the Hebrews, the laws of Moses provided that a slave of their own people be set free after six years and foreign slaves should be liberated twice in a hundred years. The ancient Greeks often purchased slaves from pirates. But nowhere in history can we match the cruelty of the American system of slavery. A systematic disruption of the family unit, obstacles to the observance of religious sacraments and consistent violations of the women all contributed to making America's 300 years of bondage a most sordid story.

During this period, a number of voices were raised in this country against the institution of slavery. Also during this period, America's first Negro college graduate, John B. Russwurm, together with another progressive black man, Dr. Samuel Cornish, started the first black newspaper. *Freedom's Journal* made its first appearance March 20, 1827. Based in New York, it fought the slave issue with great fervor.

In 1863, President Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, freeing most of the slaves. Slavery was abolished by adoption of the 13th Amendment to the Constitution on December 18, 1865. These acts thrust upon society a whole race of people, many ill-equipped to deal with the issues of the day. This new-found "freedom" brought with it confusion, bewilderment and chaos. Even the election of black men to southern legislatures failed to bring full status to the total black population. Wily white

politicians and other "operators" manipulated and took advantage of many.

Negro leaders arose seeking to secure Negroes a place in American life. Strong differences of opinion were expressed in the DuBois-Washington debates. Booker T. Washington, a Virginian, told his people that the black man was not interested in things either political or social. He urged a training of the hands for skilled labor and went on to found the Tuskegee Institute in Alabama. W.E.B. DuBois was an intellectual of that day, a leader in organizing the Niagara Movement, which later became the NAACP. DuBois urged the training of the mind. He could be credited with winning that debate, and at the turn of the century black men abandoned interest in carpentry, brick masonry, metal working and other trades upon which the economic base of America rested. Too, artisans from Europe immigrated to the cities of the South and took the jobs formerly done by Negro artisans leaving most of them to drudgery in the fields. Only a very few secured the education necessary for teaching, medicine or the ministry.

Some forty years after the end of the Civil War, two Negro organizations were formed which have continued to give sound leadership to Negroes. The NAACP, organized in 1909, is now a full-fledged organization supported by liberal whites and forward-thinking blacks dealing with political and social gains for Negroes. The Urban League was founded in 1910 to help migrating Negroes from the rural South to adjust to the urban North.

Supporting the NAACP and the Urban League, the Negro press became a real force for progress. Robert L. Vann's flamboyant *Pittsburgh Courier* and Robert S. Abbott's *Chicago Defender* were hammering away with attacks on racial prejudice at all levels. At the insistence of Abbott's *Defender*, black people left the South in droves seeking better conditions in the Promised Land of the North.

During the 1920's there was a remarkable development which Dr. Alaine Locke chose to call the Negro Renaissance. From New Orleans to Harlem by way of Memphis, St. Louis and Chicago, the world saw an emergence of a new wealth of talent. Significant works in art, music and literature were produced. And even as black folk danced to the music of Louis Armstrong, Jelly Roll Morton and others, they also listened to the silver tenor of Roland Hayes, the talent of "Black" Patti or the prose of Langston Hughes. Negroes hailed St. Louis born Josephine Baker, who later danced to international fame in a belt of bananas. There were expressions of beauty and outward joy despite the pressure on the soul.

Following many legal battles fought and won by the NAACP's Charlie Houston, Negroes were able to attend schools of higher learning and fair-skinned Walter White , head of the NAACP, was conducting on-the-scene investigations of lynchings. Restlessness with the times grew, followed by eruptions and ultimately a whole new concept of thinking in America--passive resistance.

This period produced the sit-ins at Greensboro, N.C., by four black college

students who spontaneously sought a hamburger in a previously all-white hamburger stand. There were the Freedom Rides which produced the burning bus at Aniston, Alabama, in 1961. New organizations emerged: CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and SCLC (Southern Christian Leadership Conference). There were also new names: James Farmer, James Forman, Dr. Martin Luther King. Meanwhile a whole new Negro emerged with this restlessness. The Thoreau-Gandhian philosophy of passive resistance was articulated by the resonant-voiced Baptist preacher with a degree from Boston University. His leadership in the Montgomery Bus Boycott launched a phase heretofore unknown.

At about this time the general press "discovered" the black man on something other than the sport pages and the police blotter and, in general, white America was made acutely aware of his problems.

As never before, white America reacted positively to this new concept. Support came from all sides. Young college students from middle income environments offered their bodies as witnesses to the cause of justice for all. Frontal assaults were made on the overt signs of discrimination. Signs came down under court and government fiat. The Supreme Court opened all levels of education in its historic '54 decision, while the fire hoses of Birmingham and the cattle prods of Louisiana seared the conscience of the world.

The Federal Government became committed. A reluctant President, under final challenge, sent federal troops into Arkansas, and a group of freshly scrubbed black high school students became famous as the Little Rock Nine.

During this period the black man reached heights heretofore undreamed of. National commentators joined in the great surge and for a time it became "fashionable" to be liberal. But just at the time when all felt that they were doing right by the Negro American we awoke one morning to an explosion of great proportion in an unknown section of Los Angeles, called Watts.

"Why?" the question was asked. And even before the answers could be supplied there were explosions in other cities, and America stood in stunned disbelief. Newark, Detroit, Chicago, many others, all contirbuted to the mindless, seemingly senseless rage. We had been told, but we had not listened. James Baldwin had spoken so eloquently of this rage in his "Fire Next Time." Ralph Ellison in his "Invisible Man" and Michael Harrington had explained it all so plainly in "The Other America." The Walter Whites and the Lester Grangers had told us, but no one was listening.

The pent-up rage within the ghettos overshadowed all else.

How could one explain it?

Where did we go wrong?

American reaction has taken many forms. A political debate over "law and order" pits the people versus the police. It obliterates any excesses by the police and equates crime of any nature with legitimate dissent. The 1968 campaign demonstrated the polarization of the races; a Presidential commission reports that the country is headed

toward two societies--one white and one black.

Yet all of America has not forsaken the issue. For the first time, the American businessman has become involved, and foundations have taken more than a passing interest in it.

It is essential to examine some of the reasons for the urban explosions. They have taken place despite the presence of laws of equality at every level. Over 500 black officials have been elected in the nation as result of the Voting Rights Act. Black mayors of major cities are no longer novelties. With Kenneth Gibson in Newark, Richard Hatcher in Gary, Cleveland's Carl Stokes announced early that he would not seek a return to office last fall. Black mayors, such as James Williams, Sr., of East St. Louis, Illinois, are finding cities bankrupt. This condition includes not only finances, but morally and spiritually as well. Even with this newly found political strength, the black man in this country is still without the economic base necessary in a capitalistic society. True, there have been many efforts in the direction of developing black businesses, but by and large, they have been minimal.

If we examine the total development of the black man, we find emphasis placed upon education, housing and jobs. At no time, however, has there been any concerted effort in the thrust toward greater economic power.

Although low on the employment scale, Negro America is unable to retain much of what it earns. For all of the money that flows into the inner city Monday through Friday, the vast majority is siphoned off in goods and services at the close of the week. Little, if any, remains to help stabilize the community. And the majority of present government programs to ward off poverty are designed as "non-profit" ventures. This, too, is contrary to the American rule and is evidence of the dual system as it is presented to the people.

America has been lending money to rehabilitate or to assist programs throughout its history. When it was decided that the country needed railroads, land was provided for that purpose. The same with airlines, farm land and more dramatically still, the Marshall Plan to assist devastated Europe after World War II. All this, however, involved profit-making efforts. Yet as we examine many of the programs directed to ghetto residents, millions of dollars are being allocated for use, but the initial requisite is the formation of a non-profit corporation.

President Nixon has expressed a desire to encourage black capitalism in the country. Early research revealed this to be a misnomer and today the discussions center on black businesses. The Small Business Administration, which had stringent rules affecting Negro applicants before, has started to relax its procedures under national pressures. A number of private sources, including some foundations, have entered the picture of black-owned businesses.

Church groups and major businesses have begun to deposit meaningful sums in black-owned banks and financial institutions throughout the

country. White banks are taking a new look at Negro business applications. The Interracial Council for Business Opportunity (ICBO), which has branches in a number of cities, is bringing white and black businessmen together with a view to assisting other black businessmen.

In spite of all this, Negro youth are caught up in the spirit of rebellion of a highly touted "permissive" society and are fast taking a firm grip on the reins of change. Their voices are being heard on war, drugs, sex, black studies and identity. The Afro hair style, a mark of the young, says to various and sundry persons, "I am somebody." Cries for black dormitories and for black studies on college campuses are evidence of the new militancy. While such older activists as Bayard Rustin caution against too much Afro history and not enough mathematics and English to compete in an integrated society, such groups as the Association of Black Collegians grow stronger. The ABC has been at the seat of a number of campus "take overs" in the interest of its demands; yet these demonstrations have never marked the destructive level of the white-dominated Students for a Democratic Society. On occasion, the SDS has been invited out of an ABC "thing" lest the administration confuse the two purposes.

There also has been a new nationwide militancy among blacks. The Black Muslims, which at one time seemed to have a corner on the militancy market, have since paled before such groups as the Black Panthers and Vice Lords. Snick's (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) Stokely Carmichael is out of the country. H. Rap Brown, who succeeded him, at this writing, has disappeared. Yet the militant rhetoric of these two only established a base for the Eldridge Cleavers and others who have challenged the system head on. Many of the nation's young blacks find an identity with the causes of Bobby Seale and Angela Davis. The assassination of Malcolm X enshrined him in the memory of many. While the death of Dr. Martin Luther King may have evoked more widespread interest across all age and class lines, the rallying cry for the young is inevitably to the left.

Although Joe Frazier decidely defeated Muhammed Ali for the World's Heavyweight crown, Ali lost little of his rank and file support among many blacks who felt him robbed of his crown in the first place.

The movement to raise the standards of the poor of the country continues, as enunciated by Dr. King before his death. Rebellions of public housing tenants to secure "more representation" in the administration of public housing, as well as to secure reductions in rents, are separate new moves. Rent strikes by residents are underway in several cities.

There is also a rising movement for "community control" of education. New York has been hardest hit by this new thrust, although institutions of other cities seem destined to feel the impact. Parents are demanding more voice in faculty selection, administration

and business practices. Some of these demands have evolved into bitter confrontations, not only with school administrations, but with teachers' unions as well.

The level of Negro employment is yet below the national average. Open demonstrations to secure jobs in the construction unions have become the top story in labor circles for the past few years. Led by Assistant Secretary of Labor Arthur Fletcher, one of the ablest men in the administration, construction unions have been under heavy attack by the federal government as well as from minority workers. Secretary Fletcher, a black man, was instrumental in imposing the "Philadelphia Plan" on the labor market in that Pennsylvania city. Labor, recoiling, tried to come up with a plan of its own. Actually, many cities, rushing to escape the "Philadelphia Plan," conceived the "Chicago Plan," the "St. Louis Plan" and so on.

The whole struggle in the labor market led to bitter confrontations in Chicago and in East St. Louis where militant black workers literally drove whites off federally financed construction jobs. The latest confrontation with labor unions, however, has not been without its confusion and confrontations. Since the (President Franklin D.) Roosevelt Days, labor has always been considered a "friend" by the black man. Today, he is not so certain of this friendship. Given battles to enter apprenticeship training courses and to crack craft unions generally have shown a recalcitrance unequaled in breaking color bars below the Mason-Dixon Line.

Bayard Rustin, longtime civil rights activist and labor organizer, has said that the great question before blacks today is whether to fight to eliminate all segregation in the trade unions, or to become pawns in the conservatives game of bust-the-unions.

Writing in the May 1971 issue of *Harper's*, Rustin, who masterminded the March on Washington, says: "It may well be that historians of the future, recording the events of the past five years, will conclude that the major effect of the civic turbulence in this period has been in fact to distract us from the real and pressing social needs of the nation. And perhaps nothing illustrates the point more vividly than the whole question of the relations between blacks and the unions."

The National Medical Association, an organization composed mainly of Negro doctors, has concerned itself in recent years with health needs of black people in the country. Special teams discovered hunger in various Dixie states, much to the consternation of some Senators from those states. The NMA has also launched programs to encourage young people of whatever color to enter medical and para-medical fields to fill the woeful gap existing there.

Negroes young and old continue to strive for economic strength and political power, freedom of opportunity and residence, but most of all they seek human dignity.

"The major issue before us is not

whether we can solve the urban racial
problems which threaten to engulf
us, but whether we have the will to resolve
them. Our technology, our social
philosophy and our national resources,
perhaps for the first time in the history
of man, make it possible for us to do
almost everything we set out to do.
The question is one of resolve..."
...*National Urban League*
Special Report to the
President of the U.S.
February 1969

EDUCATION IN THE INNER CITY

by D. Everett Thomas
University of Missouri-St. Louis

A Point Of View

At risk of being accused of initiating this discussion with the conclusions, two quotations are included for the purpose of encouraging a positive point of view.

Horace Mann looked upon education as "the great equalizer of the conditions of Man . . . the balance wheel of the social machinery."

T. Edward Hollander, a New York educator, in the light of the current situation says, "Perhaps we expect too much from our school systems, but they offer the only practical hope at the present time for long-range solutions to the most pressing social and economic problems facing society."[1]

These viewpoints on education in the inner city point out first the needs for training and education of adults in the inner city for advancement on the job, and for education to open doors to jobs at many levels. This education and training may be in college, junior college, high school, or adult basic education programs.

The community school with its offerings for persons of all ages and its overall effect on the community is brought out next. Private and parochial schools are not discussed since they are not under the control of local or city governments.

The final sections for discussion deal with the early learning years and particularly with the quality of teaching needed for children of the inner city.

The Situation

In the United States, vast numbers of adults in cities have less than a high school education. In our ten largest cities, the average of all adults (persons 21 or older) without the equivalent of a high school education is 501 per 1,000 – a startling 50%. For non-whites, the figure is 717 per 1,000. In the largest midwestern cities, adults with less than a high school education number 737 per 1,000, and non-white adults number 798 per 1,000.[2]

There are many reasons for these appalling figures. One contributing factor was the multitude of poorly educated persons moving to the city from rural areas where a child's labor was required at the expense of his education. Also some urban ethnic groups downgraded the idea that education was needed or desirable. The schools often were not adapted to the task of educating

parents to the needs of education for the children. Too, there were schools with poor and indifferent teaching. There are many other causes. Some persons are content with merely finding the causes and fixing the blame. On the other hand, there are many more citizens interested in helping other citizens to continue their education, and to enable these persons to become first class citizens: self-supporting, interested in the cultural, social, and economic life of the community, and proud of being Americans.

Problems

Some of the problems in education, as outlined in 1966 by Dr. Robert J. Havighurst of the University of Chicago, are:

1. Low background of parents
2. De facto segregation
3. Socio-economic segregation
4. Teachers with seniority and experience who move to higher status schools
5. Need for flexible curriculum development
6. Need for new high schools where population is increasing
7. Need for innovation and experimentation
8. Dissention and controversy concerning policies and practices[3]

Now, the above list of problems of the schools could be expanded and would show a shift of emphasis. For example, a voice in decision-making is being emphasized by teachers. Curriculum discussions and decisions take place more often directly between teachers and curriculum directors, rather than through the principal and the superintendent. School financing in most districts is more critical. Bussing, often advocated as a solution to the problem of segregation, is being viewed as a use of funds which might better be used to improve instruction. Racial integration, when developed through bussing, often results in a further flow of families to other districts, with resegregation as the result.

Many Negro families are indicating that they favor keeping their children in the local school so parents may visit the school and be more actively associated with it and its tutorial and adult evening programs.

Only a few of the above problems of the schools are discussed in the following material. Bear in mind that it is easy to be critical of a school system, since schools are usually in a process of change and some persons are not always up to date with their criticisms. Whether the change is an improvement depends upon a careful consideration of goals, the development of alternatives as solutions of the problems, and the selection of the most reasonable and practical solutions.

Which Education?

John Kenneth Galbraith of Harvard University suggests that "an emergency education program is probably the most effective single attack on poverty in America."[4]

Kenneth B. Clark, Negro psychologist, says, "The job of obtaining excellent education for the children in deprived areas is now a national problem.

A serious and responsible program to attain this goal transcends local, sectional, and racial considerations."[5]

Dr. Jerome H. Holland, former president of Hampton Institute, said in his book, *Black Opportunity*: "Actually, the Negro youth needs a college sheepskin relatively more than his white peer. One of the most important areas in which industry can aid Negro youths to help bridge the credibility gap is by convincing high school students that there is a place, and a good place, for well-educated Negroes in business and industry."[6]

During the later days of slavery, Negroes of the South were bricklayers, masons, carpenters, smiths, master mechanics, and craftsmen. After emancipation, immigrants from Europe replaced the Negro craftsmen. Sharecropping then became the lot of the Negro, including every member of his family. When farming was mechanized, Negro families moved to the cities of the North in search of jobs.

"Plans for Progress" was developed by 441 major companies for the purpose of employing Negroes and training them for good jobs. By 1968, 10.4% of all employees of these companies were non-white. The non-white increase was 72%, while the overall increase was 37%. The greatest numerical increase for non-white workers was in blue collar jobs. The greatest percentage of increases was in white collar jobs. Of the white collar jobs, non-white representation increased 56.2%. Almost unbelievable was the 245.4% increase in sales jobs for non-white workers.[7]

In 1969, employment in St. Louis was distributed as follows: 30% services; 28% manufacturing; 13% retail; 8% state and local government, including teachers; 4% federal employees; and 17% miscellaneous.

In view of the above figures, high school programs might develop plans for further training, plus education and guidance, in the direction of helping persons enter sales, blue collar, service, and retail employment.

To Work Or Not To Work?

Should I work? If so, for what shall I prepare? What happens when and if this job no longer exists?

There are those in American society who view work as a medieval curse, interfering with living to the fullest, with the pursuit of ideas, and with the good life. Many try existence without work in communes devoid of many of the patterns of family life; they live in deprivation, even squalor, often thinking it "moral" to take from society or the establishment in order to survive.

Others obtain a college degree, but when parental support is withdrawn, discover their particular choices of college courses have left them outside the market place of the world. Then some seek to teach what they have learned and are alarmed to find few openings. Eventually, they seek employment as teachers and are appalled to find that parents and administrators expect teachers to have considerable breadth of knowledge, as well as some techniques for dealing effectively with the individual child as

well as children in groups. Many of these college graduates set forth on programs of re-education and training and, with new points of view and new skills, become excellent, dedicated teachers, often continuing their education to become specialists in different fields.

A third group consists of adults who become unemployed because of replacement of workers by automation, by lack of basic education, or because they lack the skills needed in industry. Most of these persons live in the Negro ghetto. As mentioned previously, "Plans for Progress" was organized to help unemployed persons of the ghetto. "Plans for Progress" was operated in and by 441 major companies in the fields of insurance, service, and manufacturing. By 1968 employees in these companies were 10.4% black. During the same period, the overall employment in these companies had increased. Therefore, the black gain was not a case of replacement of whites with non-whites. The percentage of non-whites in the total population was 12% so the 10.4% black employment represented an approach to equal percentage of blacks and whites employed.

Some activists insist upon employment of non-whites on a quota basis. On a national percentage of population quota basis, employment should be 12% black. In practice in Detroit, in the automotive industry the non-white employment is in excess of 60%. In most of the major insurance companies in the eastern cities, blacks hold in excess of 60% of the jobs. Business and industry management in these instances are anxious to, and in reality do employ non-whites far in excess of the mythical quota of one non-white per eight employees.

Employment quotas for non-whites on a basis of the percentage in the national population would, to many employers and employees, seem to hamper business and industry and, more important, be unfair limitation upon the individual who has prepared himself in skills and knowledge for a specific job.

Adult Basic Education

Many persons with little formal learning are working in industry at wages above the poverty level. In order to advance on their jobs, they must secure high school diplomas by completing regular high school classwork or by passing the tests of the General Educational Development high school equivalency examination. The next step is to acquire college credits, which will be helpful in further advancement. Some ultimately earn college degrees and thereby may become qualified for advancement to administrative posts.

On the other hand, thousands of adults in large cities are unable to read, write, or do simple arithmetic. Hundreds of these people are enrolled in federally funded adult basic education programs administered by universities, non-profit agencies, or in some cases, public schools. Most of these adults develop reading, writing, and mathematical skills up to a level of

fourth grade–or even eighth grade–in two or three years and then are able to enter the labor market at a higher level. Often these persons supplement this study with instruction in a skill–mechanical, technical, clerical–and thereby enhance job opportunities still further.

Materials typically used in the elementary schools for teaching reading, writing, and arithmetic are not suitable for teaching adults. It has been necessary to develop new instructional material, based on problems and knowledge useful in the daily lives of adults. Tremendous progress has been made during the last few years in developing suitable textbooks, tapes, slides, films, and other teaching aids for adult basic education. Thousands of adults of the ghetto, because of adult basic education programs, are becoming employable, are getting jobs, and are advancing to better ones. Many of these adults continue with regular high school classwork or pass the General Education Development tests and move up the ladder in the labor market.

Technical Education in High School

There are three major types of high schools for non-college preparation: Technical-Separate, Technical Part-Time, and Comprehensive.

1. Technical schools often are separate from regular district schools. In addition to technical courses, students complete requirements in English, mathematics and social studies, and are expected to graduate in the usual four years. Parents often are reluctant to encourage pupils to attend these schools, feeling students are set apart not only as different, but also as inferior to the neighbor's children who attend the regular college preparatory high school.

2. Technical Part-Time high schools are those in which technical courses are taught with good equipment and instruction. The student spends only a part of the day at the Technical Part-Time school, and the remainder at his regular district high school. Students attend home district schools, participate in activities with friends, and graduate in the regular manner. In addition, they have special training and often job experience that prepares them for a job after high school. Capacity enrollments usually characterize this type of school; sometimes quotas must be established for different districts. Graduates move into relatively well-paying jobs and become workers, often having matched jobs with job expectation.

These graduates also may complete some courses for entrance to a special college program they may desire to take later.

In these Part-Time schools, transportation of students is a problem. The administration of class schedules in all cooperating schools or districts requires time, effort, and compromise. An economic advantage is that several school districts may send pupils to a Technical School in order that equipment be utilized for two or three shifts per day.

3. The Comprehensive high school may be very large. It includes college preparatory high school courses and technical education programs. Although

this may be the high school of the future, the Technical Part-Time high school as a cooperative program of several districts may operate similarly when one school cannot afford the expensive equipment needed for technical education.

The Community School

Some community schools are elementary schools whose pupils come from a few city blocks enclosed by a specific boundary. Curriculum and administration are promulgated from a central office of the city school system with no provision for parents or other citizens of the community to come to the school for participation in learning activities or in planning ways and opportunities for the school to enhance the education of pupils. In short, this type of school is little more than four walls, independent of the needs and aspirations of the community.

Other community schools serve a larger community with programs other than pupil classroom activities. For example, there may be an after-school tutorial program operated for one or two hours, five days per week, for students who voluntarily come for special help in reading, arithmetic, phonics, language, art, and music. Tutors are outstanding teachers in their fields and are paid well for their work. This program is designed to upgrade the achievements of pupils. Since pupils attend voluntarily, cooperation among teachers, counselors, parents, and tutors is necessary if all concerned are to realize that the tutorial program is desirable and effective for the educational growth of the individual child.

In this kind of community school, the gymnasium may be open from six to seven p.m. for competitive sports for high school boys or for community groups such as city firemen and policemen. Games and other activities for both boys and girls are also available. From seven to ten p.m. several programs are offered not only for adults, but also for children of all ages who may come to the school with their parents.

In the community school many inner-city adults attend adult basic education classes to learn reading, writing, arithmetic, and language skills. Fourth grade levels of achievement are frequently reached in a school semester or two, and some achieve eighth grade level. This program is usually provided without cost to students and is taught by highly competent, well supervised, and well paid instructors. More advanced adults have the opportunity to enter the General Educational Development high school review program for one or two semesters in which they prepare to take and pass the G.E.D. test and then can apply for jobs in industry for which a high school education or its equivalent is required.

During evening sessions of the community school persons may learn skills enabling them to get and hold jobs in retail sales, clerical work, record keeping, stenography, and secretarial work. Accompanying this skills training, students have classwork and counseling specifically related to applying for a job, what to expect on a job, and how to

advance on a job. Students may further their chances for employment and advancement by studying grooming, poise, human relations and effective speech.

Many become interested in recreational and cultural courses such as: athletics for men and boys, slimnastics for women and girls, social dancing, bridge, music, literature, hobbies, and discussions of topics of community interest.

In addition to the job-oriented and personal improvement activities of the community evening school, many family and home-related courses enable adults to learn about family health, nutrition, child care, consumer buying, and family budgeting.

The adult programs of the community school are typically planned by a committee of citizens, the school principal, and a program coordinator. In some instances funds are supplied initially by a grant from a foundation; and in some places state funds are available for use in adult programs. Program evaluation and accounting for expenditures are usually under control of the organization or government unit supplying funds. In many instances, after a funded program has succeeded for a semester or two, students are willing to pay a small fee to obtain a special course or program they think may prepare them for a better job or a more satisfying life.

Such community schools bring parents and citizens of the community to the school; in fact, often whole families attend school in the evening. This adult participation creates better understandings among parents, pupils, teachers, school administration and the community. A certain community pride centers about the school, sometimes resulting in better kept lawns and homes, less vandalism of the school building, and more respect for the property of others. Citizens of the community begin to know and respect each other.

Control

Individuals in some communities insist that schools be controlled entirely by a local community board, believing local boards are more competent than large city system boards in developing curriculum, employing teachers and administrators, and, in general, evaluating the effectiveness of the school system.

In metropolitan areas, some districts are too large, some too small, some poorly financed, some well administered, and some poorly administered in the light of what is best for the education of the pupils and continuing education of adults of the area.

Larger districts, in order to satisfy the cry for local control, may choose to subdivide into smaller units by means of legislation and reorganization. In such cases, care should be exercised to keep schools separated from municipal control; such schools should have a sound fiscal base, should retain a cross-section of people on their boards to insure capable, understanding leadership. Many people move by choice to other areas of America, but the poor may move by necessity; therefore, the curriculum should not be dominated by persons with a parochial point of view,

but should be suitable for a citizen wherever he moves.

Other large districts prefer to subdivide into administrative units with board members selected from these subdistricts. The subdistrict board meets with local advisory parent groups to discuss curriculum, personnel, administration, and other needs. The subdistrict board members take their recommendations to the larger district board for discussion and clearance in light of the overall policies and fiscal abilities of the major district.

This procedure of subdividing a large district may bear out the statement of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorder: "The rhetoric of control is more widespread than its practice: few parents really want to 'run' their schools. But they do want something called 'accountability' where they can look at and assess what the schools are accomplishing."

Sometimes enormous overlapping districts with fifteen to twenty subdistricts are recommended. In these, the major tax would be a real estate and personal tax, depending upon a majority vote or sometimes a two-thirds vote. To pass a levy by a simple majority in a small district is often difficult. Imagine the difficulty of passing a levy in a super-district containing 2,000,000 people in a forty-square-mile area.

Of course, in some states the school board is empowered to levy taxes without a vote of the people. In such states, the larger district might have a greater chance of succeeding. In the super-districts, it is proposed that one-third of the revenue would be raised from state and federal funds, while a local tax of 10 to 15% of the school budget would be possible. Does this offer the local community sufficient leeway for local initiative or variation from the vast system of which it is a part?

Other questions often raised are: How close to the homes of the pupils should various schools be? What is the size of school best suited for the ongoing development of a curriculum for economical administration and for suitable community involvement and pride in the school?

Community involvement in the schools is not a new idea. Many schools in small communities have been community centers for thirty or forty years, and as the need for expanded curricula has developed, they have voluntarily consolidated with other schools. Improved roads and transportation have made it possible to assemble greater numbers of pupils in a central school with a more diversified curriculum. At the same time the interests of the citizens have been transferred to an enlarged community. What was once possible for education of pupils and involvement of citizens has been expanded to include better education of pupils and a much enlarged community with more comprehensive interests and opportunities.

Pride

Many Americans are proud of their old world heritage. They keep their

traditions and customs alive by festivals, folk dances, music, and songs in the native tongue. Tracing ancestry back to the native land is a matter of only two or three generations for most Americans. However, with the American Negro this is more difficult and is complicated by the period in which their ancestors lived in slavery.

Textbooks for use in elementary and high schools are being revised to include more information concerning the Negro and other minorities, their history, culture, old world accomplishments, and new world accomplishments.

Some educators believe that such textbooks, and the supplementary reading material as well, should be available to all students, assuming that each American should know something of the culture and heritage of all Americans and that all should have pride in the accomplishments of Americans whatever their background, race, or creed. Others prefer special editions of books for use only in the ghettos, white or black.

Colleges are being asked to develop and some have developed black studies departments. Some were put together hastily and their department chairmen have in a few instances paused to make a more careful development of the courses.

Hebrew was generally required in early American schools, particularly for persons entering the ministry. Now only a few ministerial students study Hebrew. On the other hand, Hebrew is taught after school hours in special classes held in synagogues. Pride in a language and heritage is maintained. Swahili, just recently a written language, is used to build pride in the black race. In time, the Negro who has time to learn Swahili will likely do so after school hours, or as an adult.

Most Americans favor programs which help minorities develop pride, but they are also anxious for students to learn to work effectively in a democracy and to develop the skills, knowledge, and attitudes that will be helpful in earning a living.

In What Language Shall Children Be Taught?

In America, most dialects are well understood by young and old in the confines of the parish, the enclave, the ghetto, or their local area. Early church schools often used the local dialect or, in many cases, used the language of the native home of most of the parishioners.

Many Americans speak German, Spanish, French, Hebrew, Greek, and Latin, but these are useful only with special groups. Too, others cherish their accents and idioms, be they Cockney English, Irish Brogue, Czech, Polish, German, Greek, Brooklynese, Negro ghetto language, Southern drawl, hill language, Bostonian, Swahili, academic jargon, or government gobbledy-gook.

It is sometimes suggested that children be taught only by teachers who know the dialect of their pupils, on the grounds that they can better motivate the children to learn. Other

educators urge that the children be exposed to teachers well versed in standard English but tolerant of the second language or dialect of the children. These educators do not judge standard English as right and another dialect as wrong but, since standard English is used and understood more generally, it should be learned.

Many teachers in the ghetto say, "Master standard English so that one can communicate on an equal footing with other Americans."

The Pre-Schooler Meets the World

In cities and even some suburban areas, many children are rejected, left alone—out of contact with parents, the community of children, and adults—and find no one with whom to talk. They do not learn to speak in sentences, are unaccustomed to conversing with others and, therefore, become isolated. To help these rejected children meet the world, universities are conducting seminars and conferences on child development and child care for social workers, leaders in infant and child care centers, directors of day care centers, kindergarten teachers, Head Start teachers, health workers, nutrition experts, and agency workers. Degree programs, both graduate and undergraduate, in Early Childhood Education are increasing on college campuses. Many of these adopt an interdisciplinary approach, training workers in sociology, psychology, nutrition, casework, family economics, and child development.

Early Childhood Education at the point of actual contact with the child is usually not supported by local or state funds because of legal limitations. Many educators, laymen, and legislators favor financial support of Early Childhood Education locally and on a state basis with federal funds distributed by state and local schools.

In 1971, nursing schools, day-care centers, and other forms of Early Childhood Education were, in general, supported and operated by churches, welfare units, and non-profit organizations. In some instances industries provide day-care centers, and mothers bring their children as they come to the job; they are more effective workers because they know their children are nearby, well cared for, and in an effective learning situation.

Expectations

Beliefs and assumptions held by teachers, school administrators, children, parents, and the public about the learning process, some fact some not, affect the progress of children in a particular school.

Questions which are basic to expectations are:

Should a child be educated in terms of his needs and capacities and do his needs and capacities change?

Is the I.Q. of a first or second grade child the same when he is in fourth grade? Or eighth grade? Can the child's I.Q. be changed? Can children from homes without books learn to read in school as quickly as a child whose home is well supplied with books? Should the child from lower income cultures receive a different type of education and be taught

by different methods than those provided for middle income youngsters?

Does race determine learning ability?

Do children who are treated as if they are uneducable become educable?[8] Consider the following examples and then review your assumptions:

In pilot projects in schools in Harlem operated from 1955 to 1964, it was proven that a child who is expected to learn learns. The child of whom little is expected learns little. Positive expectation plays a greater role in a child's performance than does the community environment from which he comes.[9]

The Banneker Project in 1958 in St. Louis under district director Dr. Samuel Shepard, proved that children could be taught. [10] The Banneker district is one of five elementary school groups in St. Louis and is one of two districts enrolling mostly Negro pupils. The neighborhood is characterized by old housing, slums, high crime, and high unemployment. Teachers were asked to ignore I. Q. scores and treat all children as if they had superior ability. No drastic changes in curriculum, instructional techniques, or "underprivileged" social conditions were made. The thing which was changed was the attitude and perspective of the teachers. Within two-and-one-half years, eighth graders went from 7.7 years in reading to the standard 8.8 years. At the time the median I.Q. was raised 10 points. Results have been excellent and the pilot project was continued as a regular part of the school program of the district. The 1968-69 annual report of the St. Louis School System reports a reading score of 8.3 for the whole school system in comparison with the national 8.8 score.

In 1968, the Ford Elementary School, in which the all-black pilot community school in St. Louis was located, reported that reading scores were raised to 8.5, mathematics to 8.5, and language to 8.7 in comparsion with the national average of 8.8 for eighth grade pupils tested in the eighth month of the school year.[11] From these examples and many others, it is evident that Negro children can learn and are learning.

More efficient teaching seems to be a major factor in child learning. Better teaching can be obtained through effective administrative leadership by superintendents and principals who can employ superior teachers and pay them according to their qualifications. Even assuming that the teacher's positive attitude is paramount, nevertheless, there are additional problems: inadequate plant facilities, lack of transportation, unimaginative curricula, crowding of classrooms, as well as the effective relationship of the principal and teachers with parents and leaders of the school community.

Effective education in the inner-city depends upon many people in the city and outside, all contributing and all working together. Should we hesitate to be concerned we should ponder the words of Edmund Burke: "The only thing necessary for the triumph of evil is for good men to do nothing."

Can This Child Learn?

Poor schools, pupil background, teaching, and administration all may interfere with learning to read, to use

the words and symbols in textbooks, to be creative, to communicate effectively through writing or speech, or to develop a curiosity to learn from all available sources.

Outside lay observers frequently note that when learning is not taking place, persons involved seek to place the blame somewhere else. Perhaps the view should be that the school facilities, the community, the parents, the administration, and the teachers all contribute toward the success of the individual child.

Superior teachers usually assume that any child can learn. Children vary in the amounts learned, in motivation, and in the intensity of their pursuit of learning. Since children are remarkably different, the effective teacher uses not one but many techniques. The superb teacher, in addition to being kind and firm, patient and persistent, free and orderly, is trained and experienced in dealing in many techniques for handling group learning, as well as creating a climate in which the individual child is anxious to learn.

The effective teacher, in addition to using many other techniques, can cause the pupil to learn soundings (phonics) and also master special vocabularies at the end of the third grade so that the branching out into new worlds of ideas in the fourth grade will be interesting and a challenge.

Three reading specialists,* experienced in working with ghetto children, at a recent conference[12] on Teaching Reading to Disadvantaged Children, insisted that a variety of techniques be used to teach reading. They said chidren may become bored with 'one' system. These teachers emphasized the importance of treating each child as an important individual, to be approached on the assumption that he could learn to read. They insisted that the child should be confronted with goals and the expectation that he succeed.

The Need for More Than Just Equality

In comparison with regular schools, the inner-city school needs more superior teachers, a greater number of teacher aides, and more counselors to work with pupils, teachers, and parents. Financing this becomes a major problem of inner-city schools. Schools of the inner-city have been able to employ more teachers, as well as experienced and specially trained teachers, when salaries have been increased. Proper financing, then, is basic to effective teaching. Throughout the United States a resistance to voting increases in property taxes became a major school funding problem in 1970. In St. Louis County alone, one-fourth of the schools had turned down levies four or five times and opening dates for the schools were delayed pending passage of a school levy.

With this situation of the continuing defeat of school tax levies, it is clearly evident that sources of revenue other than levies on property tax must be provided if schools are to be operated at present standards. Education is generally conceded to be a state function. Many educators say it follows that federal funds in vast amounts should be channeled through the states, with special emphasis on the great needs of

city schools. On the other hand, some persons argue that if schools are a state function, then the major part of public school funds should be supplied by a state income tax.

It is argued that when funding of schools comes mainly from state and federal resources, then the organization as well as reorganization of school systems should be undertaken primarily to provide optimum learning situations for children rather than to establish a large base. Formerly, reorganization usually meant the combining of very small districts in order that there be sufficient numbers of pupils and sufficient local tax base to warrant employment of specially skilled teachers to offer a comprehensive curriculum. Now reorganization could in some instances mean reducing the size of mammoth districts–subdividing them into smaller administrative units–so that the quality of instruction might be enhanced.

Conclusion

The topics in Education in the Inner City have been presented with the idea of exploring ways to improve instruction and learning for persons of the inner city–children in pre-school, elementary school, and high school as well as for adults beginning with those who need to learn to read, and those seeking training and education leading to jobs and job advancement.

FOR DISCUSSION

1) What are the pros and cons of:
   a. Paying a bonus to teachers for teaching in the ghetto?
   b. Paying master teachers more and assigning them to schools where more master teachers are needed?
   c. Paying teachers more if they have a master's degree?
   d. Assigning inexperienced teachers to teach in the ghetto?

2) What is the reasoning behind the following statements? Which is sound reasoning?
   a. A first grade child from a family of poor economic background cannot be expected to learn to read.
   b. A fifth grade child could have a higher I.Q. score than he had in grade one.
   c. Negro children have less capacity to learn than white children.

3) Assuming that a child's achievement in school can be limited by inheritance, environment, and teaching, which of the three is the principle limiting factor?

4) Should the high school student:
   a. Learn American and world literature, dramatics, art, music, culture, the art of living, and government, or should this be deferred to his college education?
   b. Be taught a skill and be given job training so that he can, upon graduation, enter the world of work?
   c. Be taught science and mathematics rather than the humanities literature, art, culture, and American history and government?

5) Should the accomplishments of Negroes and other minority groups in science, medicine, business, government, literature, art, etc., be taught separately or as a part of the regular courses in history, science, government, literature, etc.?

6) What is the value of, or is there a value of, having job experience intermingled with education and training? Can this be accomplished? When in the life of the individual?

7) How can a community school program be justified for including tutoring, recreational programs, adult education, basic adult education, family living, community activities, and pre-school education?

8) Who should have a voice in..... And how?
   a. The curriculum of the school?
   b. The curriculum of the community school activities beyond grades 1-8 and after regular school hours?
   c. Hiring of school teachers and administrators?
   d. School administration and control?

9) What are the financial needs of urban schools? Sources? How met? Who is responsible?

FOOTNOTES

1. T. Edward Hollander and Marilyn Gettell, *Six Urban School Districts* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1968).
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3. Ibid.
4. John Kenneth Galbraith, *Economic Development* (Boston: Houghton Miffler, 1964).
5. Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto* (New York: Harper and Rowe, 1965).
6. Dr. Jerome H. Holland, *Black Opportunity* (New York: Weybright and Talley, 1969), p.258.
7. Ibid.
8. op. cit., Clark, pp. 128, 132-133.
9. Charles E. Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White* (New York: Random House, 1964), p. 261-263.
10. op. cit., Clark, pp. 143, 144.
11. Nathan Wright, Jr., *Let's Work Together* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968), p. 65.
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JOBS AND INCOME

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Matching the needs of the labor market with the skills, knowledge, experience and ability of the people is a major challenge confronting the cities of America. In recent years the national economy has avoided the excessive swings of the business cycle that characterized the pre-World War II period. There has been no economic collapse since 1929. The post-war inflation and general prosperity has been interrupted by only four short recessions, the last in 1960-61. Since the last recession one of the longest upswings in history has occurred.

In mid-1965 the economy reached "full employment." The public entered 1966 with high hopes—almost as if there could be another era of good feeling. Lower tax rates and more private prosperity would cause unemployment to drop to a new low, and the Federal Government could concentrate on investment in human beings in the poverty program. Expenditures for the Vietnam war and, to a lesser degree, the "war on poverty" indicated that from 1965 to the end of 1969, resources seemed ample for two wars.

A "high pressure period" of excessive labor demands appeared in the forced changes in hiring patterns, recruitment at longer distances, lowered entry conditions, job redesign, worker upgrading and expanded training programs. These adjustments became increasingly costly as they were pushed farther. It will take several years to increase the supply of highly skilled and professional workers. The result has been a bidding up of wages for scarce skills and a rise in quitting rates. Wage increases have been extended to low-paid labor, including semi- and unskilled farm labor.

The conventional wisdom is that, in 1960-61, there were enough workers of all types to fill the demands caused by business expansion. There were no "labor shortages" except in a few specialized professional fields. But as the expansion continued, unemployment fell below four per cent and significant shortages appeared. These shortages, partly as a long term trend and partly as new pressures are exerted, still exist in medicine and in education. New worker shortages appeared in the capital goods and defense industries, in the highly skilled categories.

The Operation of the Labor Market

An ideal labor market would provide a clearinghouse for all possible job

opportunities available to an individual at a point in time. The individual would choose the best job he can secure; one that provides him with a bundle of benefits including income, security, and the status he requires. In operation, a prospective candidate for a job should have realistic requirements in line with his education, training and experience. He perhaps should be confronted with several jobs similar to or slightly better than his past work.

Similarly, the ideal labor market should offer the employer several candidates approximately equal to his requirements. Ideally, in this situation a matching of jobs and individuals would easily be accomplished. As the economy required more workers, the single "line" of prospective candidates would be drawn down further and more workers would be employed.

The real world obviously is much more complex. There are many labor markets, not just one; a candidate must search widely for job opportunities. In some cases the most desirable jobs are those held from the open market for friends, relatives and other associates. Similarly, there is evidence that workers look to their friends and neighbors for jobs rather than seeking more formal job markets. It has been shown that the job hunt is often a random process of finding a job, using friends as sources of job information. Thus, knowledge of job openings in far outlying areas may never filter down to the unemployed worker in the ghetto; he has no way of learning about these opportunities. Similarly the employer, if he is truly interested in reaching the unemployed, must make this information known to them. Employment agencies, either public or private, play a secondary role in the flow of information.[1] Many jobs are not secured in open job markets; they must be entered through formal school completion (e.g. doctors, lawyers). Other jobs require long periods of training and specific attributes that limit them to family relationships (e.g. printing). Other jobs are secured through long formal apprenticeships, with means of entry obscured or extremely complex. Some trades require a round of interviews and testing which challenges the most aggressive candidate.

Employment and the Nation's Urban Poor

Although the American economy has shown employment gains throughout the 1960's, and a majority of American citizens enjoy the highest standard of living in the world, there are still a significant number of citizens living in poverty. Evidence of this poverty is more noticeable in the cities, where sharp disparities are seen in housing, education, health and recreation. There is, in addition, evidence that, since the poor demand more public services, the disparities might be getting greater.

A key factor in the problem of poverty is the set of employment problems that exist in the environment of the neighborhood. The poor have a weak labor force attachment, are limited to low-paying, low-status jobs, and suffer from high unemployment and short work weeks. Recent surveys of employment conditions in

urban poverty neighborhoods have served to emphasize the employment problems of the poor in the nation's 100 largest metropolitan areas.[2]

The most significant characteristic of poverty neighborhoods is their high concentration of Negroes. Negroes constitute 39.4 per cent or 4.6 million of the persons in poverty areas, although they are only 10.6 per cent of the population 16 years of age or older. About half the urban Negroes living in these poverty neighborhoods also have a relatively large proportion of broken families. About 20 per cent are widowed, divorced, or separated, and about 15 per cent of all persons are female household heads. Thus the poverty neighborhood is a collection of the low income people in the urban areas: the minorities, the females, and the broken families.

A rough comparison of the jobless rate in these areas suggests that men were at a greater disadvantage in the search for jobs than women. The jobless rate for men in poverty areas was 2.3 times as large as the comparable rate in the wider urban areas. On the other hand, the unemployment rate for women in poverty areas was only 1.7 times as large as the rate in other urban areas. It appears that women are attracted into the labor force by job opportunities (low-wage, female-orientated jobs) which account for part of the high participation rates. Men, however are repelled by the labor market because the high-paying steady jobs apparently are not open to them. Among "poverty" men in the prime working years (25 to 54) the jobless rate is almost triple the rate in other urban areas.

Negroes have the highest rates of unemployment (Dec. 1970): 9.3 per cent versus 5.3 per cent for whites. The sharpest difference occurred among teenage girls, with an unemployment rate more than three times as large as the white race. Among teenage boys, the Negro rate was twice that of the white race. Negro-white differences among men and women in the prime age groups of 25 to 40 were less pronounced.

The Negro unemployment rates are not limited to urban poverty neighborhoods. Negro boys, young men and Negro women suffered higher unemployment rates *outside* the urban poverty neighborhoods than their white counterparts *within* poverty neighborhoods. A significant exception was Negro men 25 years of age and older; a 2.6 per cent rate in 1967 was one full percentage point below that of whites in poverty neighborhoods. The concentration of Negroes in low-paying service occupations, particularly private household work, was greater in non-poverty areas than for whites in poverty areas. This suggests that the low income problem of the Negro is not solely a function of his location in the poverty area. The Negro faces the employment problem wherever he is located.

The resident of poor neighborhoods spends a longer time in search of a job; the duration of unemployment was 9.9 weeks compared to 8.3 weeks in other neighborhoods. About one-fourth of the unemployed men 20 years of age and older

were unemployed for 15 weeks or more; about 17 per cent of women were jobless for 15 weeks or more.

The resident of the poverty neighborhood has open to him only low-status and low-paying jobs. Of the 6.2 million persons employed in 1967, 57 per cent were employed in semi-skilled, unskilled and service occupations; fewer than one-third held white collar jobs. The semi-skilled and unskilled blue collar jobs have exhibited only a slow growth in the post World War II period and are, in addition, characterized by relatively high unemployment and cyclical instability. Jobs which have exhibited rapid employment growth and low unemployment rates in the postwar period, including clerical, professional and managerial, had low proportions of urban poverty residents.

The different occupational and industrial composition of black workers leads to differences in working hours. Workers in poverty areas work fewer hours hours than their counterparts in other neighborhoods--38.3 hours per week compared to a normal 39.5 hours. A larger proportion of workers in poverty areas is limited to part-time work due to inability to find full time employment, slack work, material shortages common to such occupations, or the fact that a small proportion are in occupations which normally work more than 40 hours a week.

Employment problems in poverty neighborhoods extend to the teenager. In December 1970, the teenage unemployment rate was 17.5 per cent compared to the overall rate of 6 per cent. The teenager who neither works nor continues in school is starting on a track of low-paying, unstable jobs. His failure in school is compounded by failure to get a good starting job; this usually is followed by further failure to join the world of work.

Labor Force Participation

The labor force participation of workers in poverty areas is lower than those in all other areas; 57.3 per cent versus 60.4 per cent. The low participation rate suggests that there may be "discouraged" workers in the area. If the overall participation rate applied to those areas, 350,000 more people would have joined the labor force. A disproportionate number of persons in poverty areas was disabled and out of the labor force. Voluntary idleness, retirement, waiting to enter school or the Armed Forces, and discouragement over lack of jobs accounted for the remainder. About 1.3 million people were categorized as unable to work or not in the labor force for "other reasons." Voluntary idleness, retirement and discouragement accounted for 175,000 men in the prime working ages.

Families headed by women suffer from the lack of the characteristically higher and steadier income of the male-headed family. In addition, the female head often must remain off the work force because of family responsibilities. In poverty areas, nearly one-third of all household heads were women, in contrast to one-fifth in other urban areas. The jobless rate for female heads was higher than the overall unemployment rate.

The population of the United States is approximately 200 million. Out of

this figure more than 50 million adults over age 16 are not in the labor force. In the early 1960's, the need for information on why a person would not be working or looking for work became important as the concern with "hidden" or "disguised" unemployment received national attention. Public policy was directly involved in the sense that if there were many "hidden" workers, a policy of expanding the job opportunities would reduce the number of jobseekers and also attract these discouraged workers into seeking work, leaving no net effect upon the total unemployment rate.

In 1970, the labor force consisted of 85 million people. Of the unemployed, many had families and home responsibilities, and others were reacting to forces which changed the rate of participation in the working group. Men over 65 obviously retire. Younger men enter the labor force at a higher wage bracket, reflecting the increased educational requirements of jobs, as well as increased school opportunities. Of the total, most have school or home responsibilities.

The number of "discouraged" workers shrinks rather rapidly once retirement and other factors explaining nonparticipation are eliminated. Four million have health or disability problems and 1.3 million want no job. We are left with 573,000 who think they cannot get work and 819,000 *for all other reasons* as the group that could be defined as "hidden" unemployment. Addition of these groups to the labor force would add 1,392,000 to the labor force, or slightly less than 1.8 per cent of the labor force.[3]

Examination of the labor market in the central city accounts for the apparent paradox of large numbers of unfilled, low-paying jobs and statements by workers that menial employment is available to even the casual jobseeker alongside the high unemployment in these areas. This can be explained partly by the existence of large numbers of less preferred employers in this labor market, including hospitals, hotels, warehouses, maintenance service companies. They are described by the following characteristics: low wages and fringe benefits, low status work, unpleasant working conditions, limited promotional opportunities and unstable employment.

Because of competition or poor planning, the employer is unable to offer steady or high-paying jobs, or the technology of the industry may require low-skilled workers. Low wages and poor working conditions do not encourage worker loyalty. Turnover and frictional job vacancies are likely to be high.

The worker from a poverty area tends to view the job opportunity as merely a way of earning income for use. Alternatives to earned income are welfare, crime and income sharing within families. The worker is able and willing to withhold his labor services for short periods of time and treat work as a supplemental source of income. An active street life competes with labor as a regular activity.

In the employment situation, the interviewing process becomes important. Workers are ranked according to education, age and test scores; except for special types of markets, the employee with a continuous work history is

preferred to one having an inadequate work history. Thus, the disadvantaged worker in a labor market that affords him only low-paying jobs cannot, without special assistance, break out of this type of labor market.[4]

A person who works at low-paying jobs and has a high incidence of unemployment is "poor." It obviously is not revolutionary to say people in "poverty areas" suffer high unemployment rates. There does not appear to be a lack of job opportunities, since job turnover is high. Personal factors among the unemployed, such as lack of education or training, may account for a large part of the troubles of the poor, but other conditions add to the difficulty of the neighborhood; a shortage of labor market information exists, and in many cases a lack of transportation to surrounding jobs adds to the problem.

In a country with 5.8 million unemployed (Jan. 1971), a total manpower activity serving 1.2 million does not seem adequate. In St. Louis, it is estimated that there are 34,500 unemployed and 23,000 not in the labor force. In St. Louis, 57,500 people are at the heart of the unemployment problem.

Changes in the Composition of Cities

In the first half of the 1960's, cities experienced a slight population growth, but the white population was dropping by 140,000 per year, while black population increased by about 370,000 per year. In 1960, one out of every six residents of central cities was black; by 1966, the proportion was closer to one out of every five. In 1968 the white movement out of the city increased to nearly 400,000 per year, while black migration has slowed to 110,000. But the central city data is not all negative; overall data shows that educational levels and average incomes are rising.

Paradoxically, as some of the problems of integration are solved, talented blacks now are able to move more freely in the community. The ghetto may become a last refuge and even more difficult than it is now. The poor are dependent, females are heads of many families with children aged 16 to 19, and many are living on relief. The average family income has not risen, and unemployment remains high.

The central city, with an increasingly dependent population coupled with ever-growing demands for public service, faces an ever-rising need for public expenditure. The costs of welfare, education, housing and police services account for this rising need.

St. Louis has been experiencing some of the same forces of population movements and the resultant effects on the labor market and business. As shown in Table I, 35.6 per cent of the total population of the St. Louis Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area (SMSA) was in the central city in 1960. Population growth was down 7.7 per cent from 1960-1967, and the proportion in the central city fell by 30.5 per cent. A rough comparison with other mid-western cities suggests that St. Louis presents a difficult situation--a narrowly bounded central city.

St. Louis had a population density of 12,295 persons per square mile in 1960.

This figure fell to 11,346 by 1967. Chicago's density is about the same as St. Louis', but cities in the west and south are far less thickly populated.

Labor market analysis shows that the reduction in central city density will make the problem of those remaining more difficult. It appears that jobs are moving out. Table II suggests that retail sales are falling in both a comparative sense and a real sense.

The limited data suggest that manufacturing employment also is moving to the outer rim of the central city. In 1958 the central city had 146,800 employees in manufacturing, but in 1963 there were only 129,100.[5] One can only speculate on the trend of manufacturing employment in the central city from 1963 to the present; the best that can be hoped for is that it has stabilized.

Table III indicates the results of the movement of people and job opportunities. Admittedly, this is a rough comparison, but it indicates the nature of the problem: central city average household incomes are usually below those outside the central city. From 1964 to 1966, St. Louis urban household incomes rose from $6,911 to $7,580, but the outside central city household income rose at a more rapid rate.

What Has Been Done

Public policy prior to 1964 was to manipulate total demands for all workers. Even with the Employment Act of 1946, full employment has not been reached consistently in the past 24 years. The problems of the poor had been exacerbated by the apparent prosperity of the 1950's and early 1960's in the Affluent Society. The apparent slowdown in the economy after the recession of 1957-58 discouraged the poor worker.

Public policy allowed the unemployed to find their own maintenance from an incoherent maze of public welfare and private charities. The history of such social maintenance plans including Social Security [OASI], aid to blind (AB) and aid to dependent children (ADC), indicated that each was developed to meet a specific need. New Deal and private social programs were designed to help people get through periods of economic reverses or to give elderly workers a measure of economic security. New Deal programs were not concerned with long-term poverty nor with social and economic conditions that gave rise to what has become known as the "culture of poverty." President Johnson's Anti-Poverty program, in the form of the Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, was to provide a comprehensive, co-ordinated and focused approach. The Act created local community action agencies (Community Action Programs charged with including representatives of the poor to a maximum degree.

The programs were not concerned exclusively with the poor in the cities, although 5 million of the 9.3 million "poor" [less than $3,000 income] live in cities. The rural program is intended to prepare migrants for productive roles in the cities.

The Office of Economic Opportunity could not hope to identify and reduce all the causes of poverty. Its initial funding was about one billion dollars, far less

Table I
Population Characteristics
37 Largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas
Central City & Suburbs

Area	% Central City of SMSA Population		% Population Growth 1960-1967	
	1960	1967	Central City	Suburbs
Northeast	38.0%	34.3%	2.3%	16.3%
Midwest	47.9	45.4	2.1	13.2
South	60.5	57.3	10.7	22.5
West	45.1	41.6	8.3	24.1
Chicago	57.1	52.4	-.9	19.5
Kansas City	43.5	43.3	9.4	10.4
St. Louis	35.6	30.5	-7.7	16.3
Cincinnati	39.6	37.0	-.5	11.0
Cleveland	45.8	39.7	-7.5	19.1
Milwaukee	58.0	57.5	3.2	5.3

Source:

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations Information Bulletin No. 70-1 January 1970

Table II
% Increase in Retail Sales, Deflated by General Price Increase
Central City (CC) and Outside Central City (OCC) Areas
1958-1967
% Retail Sales in Central City (CC) 1958 & 1967
37 Largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

	% Retail Sales in CC (CC/SMSA)			% Increase (Real) in Retail Sales 1958-1967	
	1958	1963	1967	CC	OCC
Northeast	(50.7)	(42.6)	(37.7)	(-.3)	(75.2)
Midwest	(66.0)	(56.2)	(48.8)	(9.5)	(127.1)
South	(74.4)	(68.6)	(64.5)	(28.7)	(108.3)
West	(61.5)	(52.3)	(49.0)	(20.2)	(119.0)
Chicago	65.3	56.9	51.5	5.3	86.6
Kansas City	59.9	63.3	50.1	55.2	64.3
St. Louis	48.1	37.5	32.7	-7.6	76.2
Cincinnati	64.2	57.0	45.0	4.6	129.4
Cleveland	74.0	54.8	39.6	-15.2	269.1
Milwaukee	73.1	63.1	58.4	7.5	108.3

Source:

Advisory Commission on Intergovernmental Relations Information Bulletin No. 70-1 January 1970

Table III
Average Household Income 1964-1966
Central City (CC) & Outside Central City (OCC) Areas
37 Largest Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas

	Average Household Income 1964			Average Household Income 1966		
	CC	OCC	OCC/ CC Ratio	CC	OCC	OCC/ CC Ratio
Northeast	7,643	9,848	129.3	8,207	10,838	132.4
Midwest	7,553	9,979	131.4	8,573	11,123	130.2
South	6,930	8,113	119.8	7,700	8,956	117.5
West	8,226	8,192	98.7	8,590	9,239	107.6
37 SMSA Average	7,597	9,187	120.9	8,286	10,213	123.3
Chicago	8,451	11,130	131.7	9,396	13,045	138.9
Kansas City	8,082	8,439	104.4	8,175	10,132	123.9
St. Louis	6,911	9,547	138.1	7,580	10,766	142.0
Cincinnati	7,647	8,748	114.1	8,098	9,427	116.4
Cleveland	6,732	11,975	177.9	7,648	11,802	154.3
Milwaukee	7,537	10,806	143.4	8,639	11,529	133.5

Sources:

ACIR Information Bulletin No. 70-1 January 1970
"Survey of Buying Power" Sales Management, Vol. 94, No. 12, June 10, 1965.
"Survey of Buying Power" Sales Management, June 10, 1967

than necessary for a significant impact. With this money, the agency hoped to give to the poor skills and education necessary to find employment.

Data on the number of people in St. Louis poverty areas and the number of unemployed are variable. The Health and Welfare Council estimated in 1967 that 257,000 Negroes lived in St. Louis-an increase of 41,000 over 1960. The Council estimated that the city's white population declined 101,000 in the same period. The Department of Labor put unemployment at 12.7 per cent in the ghetto; HDC said 15,000 were out of work; the Missouri Employment Service estimated 11,300. In addition to the straight unemployment problem, the Labor Department in 1966 estimated 66,450 persons were under-employed.

The HDC operated two employment programs, the Comprehensive Manpower Program and the Concentrated Employment Program, with a total goal of 8,000 jobs for central city residents. These programs were faced immediately with a far larger group of potential job holders than had been expected. Multiple registrations also were a problem. The CEP filtered clients into other programs such as Neighborhood Youth Corps, the Job Corps and New Careers programs.

There are some 220,000 craft workers in St. Louis, and 15,000 in building and construction. Of the 1600 apprentices in St. Louis only about 5 per cent were Negro.[6] Applicants for apprenticeships numbered over 1000 with 20 to 25 per cent Negro. A difficulty appears in the one-to six-month waiting period and the two-to five-year apprenticeship training period. Most young men are in need of immediate employment and income-producing work.

New Demands Cities

Cities have become increasingly congested and noisy. Traffic jams and crowded airports impose economic costs in lost time and reduced efficiency. Crime and delinquency are increasing. City water systems must remove chemicals and other waste products. On the other hand, the public is better off individually than ever before. From 1950 to 1966 the number of standard units of housing rose from 44 to 52 million. The number of substandard units fell from 8.4 million to 5.7 million. It is estimated that there are almost 2 million dilapidated units.

Therefore, the nation needs a construction industry to build approximately 1 million units per year, and to initiate a 10-year program of building about 700,000 units a year to eliminate dilapidated and substandard units. Some combination of building both new and rehabilitated units per year would suffice. For the St. Louis area this would mean approximately 6,000 units per year as a rehabilitation "target" in order to finish the job.

In housing technology we should look at the entire system as an input-output machine. An examination of the "Habitat" at the Montreal Fair should be undertaken. There a concentrated housing project had costs of more than $100,000 per unit, but if built in groups, it might have been possible to develop a major breakthrough in costs. New units built in the heart of the city, making urban

living attractive to a wider variety of people, would do much to solve some of the urban problems. But, again, a researcher should understand the "urban system"-a place to live, an educational system, a transportation system and perhaps a cultural system.

There is no doubt that new ways are necessary to upgrade housing. For example, old heating units must be torn out to provide for air conditioning and electronic air filtering. Modular construction might facilitate the addition of electric circuits or plumbing equipment without major structural changes.

Automobiles are assembly-line production; great strides are made in rocket technology, but one cannot move faster on the ground from home to work to airport. Such new demands could give rise to job opportunities for central city people. Alternatives can be offered such as the training of semi-skilled production workers in mass produced housing. The public is attempting to improve health conditions for all income levels; manpower training and job encouragement for both the facilities and the operation of such systems should be included in the planning of these programs. Similarly, the educational system will expand, partly as a result of these manpower plans, which should offer further job opportunities.

Some Policy Alternatives

There is evidence that new job opportunities are increasing in the suburban ring of all central cities,[7] following a pattern of population dispersal after World War II. Given the rather difficult housing problem of the central city minorities, public policy must center upon two difficult issues. With present housing patterns, the low-paid entry worker must face a 1-to 2-hour bus ride to get to his job in the suburbs (reverse commuting). The high cost of transportation (70¢ one way from the central city to NW industrial districts) reduces real income to the new employee. The issue clearly concerns the lack of moderate housing in the suburban industrial areas.

An alternate approach would be the creation of jobs in the central city. This raises serious problems, one of which is the very expense of these projects. To build a plant requires the clearing of space and the simultaneous training of an entire work force. Thus, most such plants are developed by large financially stable firms, such as IBM, Control Data and Brown Shoe Company in St. Louis. These projects must be accomplished with the help of the city administration and the cooperation of community action groups in order for them to succeed. Under the best of circumstances, one can hope for only moderate success. The process of dispersal of opportunity will probably continue.

A second danger is that improvement of housing and job opportunity in the central city might *attract* new migrants from poorer rural areas, aggravating the already serious problems and leaving the existing levels of income and employment unchanged. A slowdown in migration patterns, including the increase of job opportunities, education, health services

and incomes in rural areas, would hold out hope for the central city to improve conditions.

A minimum income guarantee would be helpful to the poverty level and low-income people of the city. At the same time, it might encourage rural and small town residents to stay in their area to improve their economy, industry, schools and public services. Some new policies, including the use of the government as an employer of last resort, similarly present difficulties in operation. Some people are deprived because they will not or cannot accept training. Rather than put them on a payroll, it might be better to accept the costs of welfare. A similar plan to force people on welfare to accept either a job or taining might have wasteful effects. Job training given under these circumstances would be of the most rudimentary sort, using training resources that could be used more profitably elsewhere. These plans raise difficult questions of freedom and equity; how much coercion is necessary, desirable or feasible?

As the economy slows down, the number of unemployed will rise. Every increase in the unemployment rate results in a more difficult situation for placement and training programs. A 1 per cent increase in unemployment causes 800,000 more people to be thrown on the labor market.

The rising overall unemployment rate points to the need for training programs for the highest skilled occupations in which gross shortages appear, even at high rates of unemployment. Thus, a comprehensive manpower program might put emphasis on training systems engineers, nurses, machinists, toolmakers and pipefitters, whether these training programs are open to the presently labeled "poor" or deprived. The job market would serve to upgrade eligible workers leaving an opening for entry by a poor person. Given the gross unemployment figures, however, a manpower training program touching only about one million people seems to be less than adequate. It might be well to shift the manpower responsibility to junior colleges or other institutions who would train large numbers of people in a broad spectrum of occupations.

In the face of overall full employment, there are still large problems of unemployed, dropouts and the underemployed. At the local level, some institutional changes can be made that in some way "pick up" these people.

High schools, colleges and the universities could develop a system that will open opportunities at all levels for education. The educational system and the job market should be more adequately co-ordinated, perhaps by designing an information system that would move job market information from industry to schools to the individual. The system would have to be designed with all sorts of people in mind with a wide variety of characteristics. Such an educational job market system should have many and varied re-entry points. The older, undereducated person should be able to drop in, secure training, and get a job. Perhaps this could be done by having business cooperate with junior colleges

subsidized by the government. The easy way out would be to ration jobs, thus leaving the older, undereducated Negro at the end of the line. Another plan would involve development of new lines of occupations--the sub-and para-professional, the assistant teacher, the out reach welfare worker--as net additions to the labor force.

A ladder of jobs should be developed. A Manpower Development and Training Act program in Licensed Practical Nursing does not solve the problem. New jobs must be opened up on a non-discriminating basis at all levels, including professional jobs. Thus, programs should be set up so that a person could work up from a clerk to a teacher, or from a Licensed Practical Nurse to a full-fledged nurse.

In the long run, it might be best to spend more for federal aid to send young people on to college and eventually to medical school. This would require a pick-up educational system to reach the drop-out and then help him through the educational system.

A short review of the problems of the employment service, the Human Development Corporation and the Concentrational Employment Program all point to extremely difficult problems of job placement. Apparently employers judge that the doors are open for all applicants while candidates do not meet their expectations. Employers want experience, training and reliability in the work force.

The result is rising expectations among the poor, yet continued frustration when jobs are not forthcoming. Solutions will not come easily, but some lines are clearly laid out. Rising demands in housing, education, public service and service occupations indicate that training should be developed in those lines. It seems possible that the Philadelphia plan or some other plan in construction should open opportunities in skilled trades. New careers in education and health services, including para-professional jobs, need to be defined in terms of training required and career ladders.

Private agencies and government organizations should cooperate in recruiting and preparing sufficient numbers of candidates for job opportunities developed. Candidates must be given pre-job training and job support so they are able to function on the job. Given the movement of jobs to the suburban ring around the city, it may be important to continue the TEMPO bus service from the central city to those opportunities. However, one sees that integration, transportation and housing opportunities are all clearly interrelated with no easy solutions.

With the potential for rising unemployment at the national level and continued restriction from employment (including labor unions and high certification requirements), the future does not look bright. Perhaps public policy will move toward a minimum income guarantee to reduce some of the poor vs. rich polarization. A National Manpower Policy in the context of full employment would provide training and job support to integrate special groups into the work force. The training job placement support would concentrate on the young (especially 16 to 19 years) and the male family head.

Conclusion

Changes in local manpower policy will not come quickly or easily. It appears that there should be concentration on special groups and especially on pre-job and on-the-job training to open up routes to jobs. A coupling of housing programs with job training in skills appears to have promise. A careful consideration of opportunities in public employment and health-related occupations appears necessary. In any case, the course of the economy in the next decade will, in a large measure, determine the job opportunities available to the poor.

Black owned businesses are providing excellent work opportunities for Negro professionals. These jobs give opportunity for the workman to climb the ladder in the job market progressively developing skills, knowledge and managerial ability. Such opportunities in the black community enable the worker to become a part of the power structure or the establishment in such a way that he is not accused of subservience to the white community. The worker is willing to take a position of supervision or management with pride, for he will be accepted in his home community, not shunned, ridiculed, or threatened. Then when the worker succeeds in a black-owned enterprise, he can, if he chooses, transfer to an integrated business or industry because of experience, training and the full support of the black community.

Discussion Questions

1) What are some of the possible causes for the rise of the so called discouraged worker: What is the estimated size of the discouraged worker force?

2) Where are some of the job opportunities? In terms of location or industry?

3) What methods of job search does a person use? Are there ways to change these methods?

4) Why is pre-job and on-the-job training so important?

5) Where will jobs likely be located in the future? What is the relation of housing and transportation to job finding?

6) How can job finding be integrated with new demands for services (housing, etc.)?

FOOTNOTES

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THE STRUGGLE FOR SHELTER

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A Decent Home

The President's Committee on Urban Housing was formed in June, 1967, with the purpose of finding a way to harness the productive power of America–which has proved it can master space and create unmatched abundance in the market place–to fill the most pressing need of our society: the need to provide the basic necessities of a decent home and healthful surroundings for every American family now imprisoned in the squalor of the slum.

Early recommendations of the committee and later suggestions for shaping the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 consisted of two basic goals:

- Rapidly increasing the production and reliability of decent housing for the poor.
- Attracting the fullest possible private participation in developing, sponsoring and managing federally subsidized housing.

Early concurrence of opinion in the committee included the following basic principles:

- The need is urgent for speeding up and expanding federal housing programs for the urban poor.
- Private enterprise can best provide the muscle, the talent, and the major effort, when there are opportunities to earn reasonable profits and to function at maximum efficiency.
- Federal housing assistance is essential for millions of families unable to afford the market price of standard housing.
- Eradication of urban blight in itself will not eliminate city slums.

Over and above mere statistics, one must consider the blocks of overcrowded houses and dilapidated tenements, families living in tin shacks with dirt floors, in houses condemned because of structural instability and the infestation of rats. In some cases, as many as eleven persons live in one room. A recitation of the conditions need not continue. Reasonable, accurate and practical solutions to the problems are needed.

These problems include more than just the dilapidated housing and the lack of water, light and heat. For example, there remain problems of discrimination–problems of social injustice which cannot be corrected by legislation alone, but which require enforcement of civil

rights laws and equally important, constructive and affirmative actions by society itself.

Within urban slums, there are knotty sociological relationships among run-down housing, human behavior, environmental conditions of total neighborhoods and the disadvantaged life of the poor. Among ghetto dwellers, there are collective and compounded needs for remedial health care and education, skill training for the unemployed and the interjection of new hope to develop individual motivation for seeking self betterment.

At governmental levels, there are the problems of worsening financial straits for many of the nation's cities and of competing demands on local and federal public expenditures.

Better housing alone will not uplift the poor. The committee emphasized that stepped-up efforts in urban housing must be supported by concentrated and accelerated public and private effort to equip the poor to enter the mainstream of American life.

The most successful programs for better housing conditions and economic opportunities cannot, by themselves, produce better environments. Good neighbors are vital for preserving good neighborhoods. Good neighbors are property-protective citizens to the fullest extent of their individual capabilities. Anti-social behavior, whether within the ghetto or outside it, impedes the effort to rebuild American cities.

The challenge of changing the city faces the President, Congress, governors, mayors, every corporate board, university, and union headquarters in America, the church, community groups and the individual family itself. The committee recommended a ten-year goal of twenty-six million new and rehabilitated housing units, including at least six million for lower income families.

To bridge the gap between the cost and the price lower-income families can afford to pay, appropriations of federal subsidies are essential and must be increased substantially for the following reasons.[1]

- Decent housing is essential to help lower-income families achieve self-fulfillment in a free and democratic society.
- Public expenditures for decent housing for the nation's poor, like public expenditures for education and job training, are not so much expenditures as they are essential investments in the future of American society .

It is asserted that the American economy can reach the goal of twenty-six million additional housing units by 1978. Ample mortgage money alone will not create more housing. It is an essential ingredient, but sufficient suppliers of manpower, materials and management are also keys to the realization of the goal.

Mortgage financing recommendations are:

- All federally subsidized and insured or guaranteed housing, except public housing, should be financed by bonds insured and guaranteed by the government.
- State usury and foreclosure laws applicable to federally insured and

guaranteed mortgages should be pre-empted by the federal government.
- Permanent statutory ceilings on maximum interest rates for Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration mortgages should be removed.

A major problem of subsidized housing is that of acquiring suitable land. Efforts to stimulate private industry to become interested in this phase of the problem continue. Another problem, possibly less acute, is that of availability of crafts needed to produce the housing. Another concerns adequate supplies of materials, but this could be minimized by substitutions and by more off-site fabrication. It is recommended that federal and local open-occupancy laws, and effective ways of eliminating subtle or unintentional federal or local impediments to construction of subsidized housing, be strongly enforced wherever feasible.

The recommended housing goals during the next ten years will include devising ways to replace or rehabilitate nearly nine million dwellings expected to deteriorate into substandard conditions, and bettering the use of existing standard housing for sheltering the nation's lower-income families. Our nation possesses the ability to respond to its housing challenges once the problems are fully understood. An alternative approach to solving the nation's housing problems is a drastic federal program of land acquisition, public construction and public ownership and management of subsidized housing. Such a program, however, would necessitate massive federal pre-emption of local private and public prerogatives and decision-making powers.

United States Housing Needs[2]

The General Electric Center for Advanced Studies estimated that 7.8 million American families—one in every eight—cannot afford standard housing that would cost no more than 20 per cent of their total incomes. The average percentage of housing costs to gross income for the total population is 15 per cent. About half of these 7.8 million families are surviving on less than $3,000 a year—the federal poverty level.

The study projected a gap in 1978 of 7.5 million families, or one in ten, who will still be unable to afford standard housing.

Urban and Rural Housing Problems

"Low income families" are to be found in both urban and rural America.
- In 1968, about 56 per cent of 7.8 million house-poor families lived in urban areas of 50,000 or more population.
- By 1978 it is anticipated that 60 per cent of all families requiring housing assistance will be urban dwellers.
- Sharecroppers' shacks and Appalachian shanties will continue to be a problem.

Characteristics of House-Poor Families

The General Electric Study projection for 1978 indicates that 70 per cent of house-poor families will be white.

One in four house-poor non-white families will be living in central cities. Non-whites must earn one-third more than whites in order to afford standard housing.

Of the urban white families unable to afford standard housing, one-half will be elderly, while among non-white families needing housing assistance, only 27 per cent will be elderly.

About 70 per cent of needy urban white families will constitute small households of one or two persons. Among non-white families, only 43 per cent will consist of one or two persons.

About 6.7 million occupied units are substandard dwellings; four million lack indoor plumbing and 2.7 million are in dilapidated condition. More than six million units are overcrowded, with more than one person per room. In addition to the need to renovate and replace substandard housing, there is the problem of producing housing for other segments of the population.

The housing needs of the poor and non-poor alike constitute a tremendous problem and should be tackled together.

Building Houses

Is it possible for the American construction industry to build and rehabilitate 2.6 million housing units per year for ten years? Does America have the resources–business skills, trained manpower, capital, land and technical ability–for such a large expansion of housing production? Can the expansion be made quickly, and efficiently?

Features of the Housing Industry

The housing industry is one of the most complex in the American economy. At the heart of the industry is the group of firms putting together the finished housing unit–home builders, contractors, home manufacturers and mobile home producers. Production and distribution of materials through wholesalers and retailers is a vast part of the industry. Others involved are real estate brokers, lawyers, insurance companies, surveyors, engineers and architects. With on-site construction, much of the work is performed by subcontractors for painting, plumbing and electrical work.

The housing process can be divided into four major phases: preparation, production, distribution and servicing.

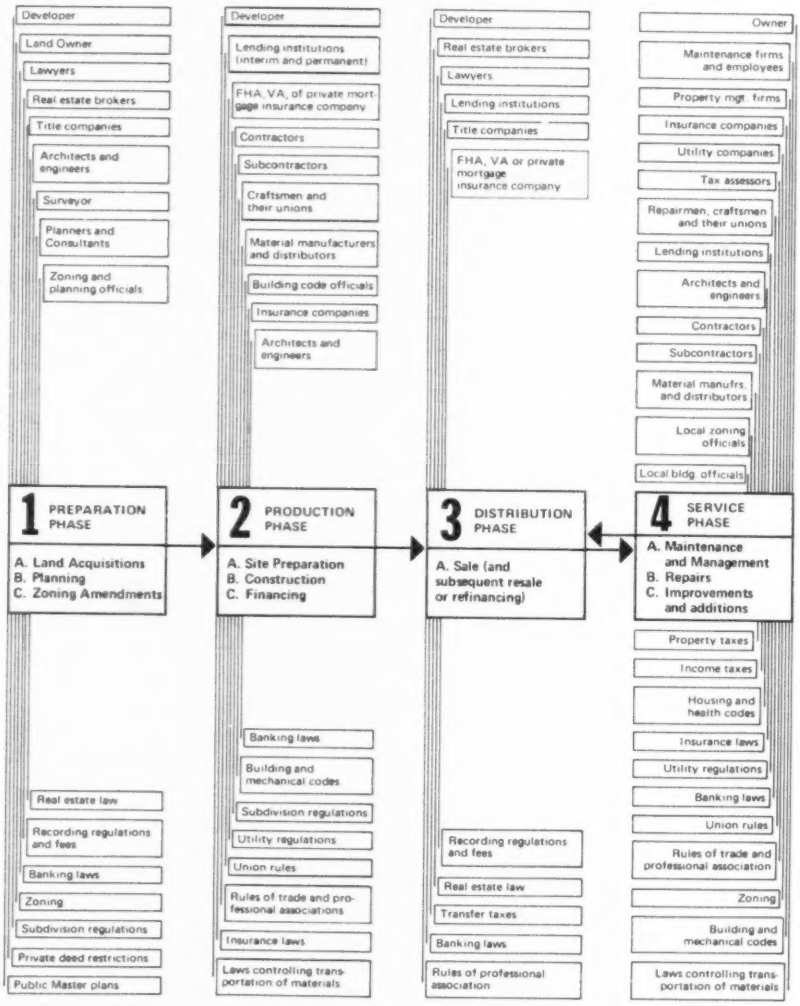
Characteristics of the Housing Industry

Housing is the most important consumer good of the economy. Americans spend over $100 billion annually to buy, rent, operate and maintain their places of residence.

Housing is an unusual product.

- Housing is tied to the land; it depends upon building codes, zoning ordinances, appeal to the market and the suitability of the site.
- The house is a durable item. Many last for generations.
- Housing is bulky. Shipment of materials is easier than the transfer of a whole building and is therefore an on-site job.
- Housing is a large expenditure item for most households.

The Housing Process Major Participants and Influences[3]



An Overview of the Housing Industry

-- Housing comes in many varieties: family, multi-family, of a variety of materials, and is complicated by nearness to schools, shopping centers, centers, parks and community buildings.

Housing is very complex, in view of the four phases given in the chart.

Definition of the Large Poor Family

The large family generally is considered to be one requiring more than two bedrooms. With small rooms, it is assumed that one bedroom is needed for each two children of the same sex. Presence of an aunt, uncle or grandparent in the same household often complicates the problem of figuring room needs.

Paul H. Douglas, chairman of the National Commission on Urban Problems reports:

> In seven cities studies, 103, 000 large families had incomes so low they were unable to afford decent private housing. Public programs provide housing for only 20,000 of these families, leaving a shortage of 83,000 units.
>
> If the deficit in the seven cities is typical of the 61 American cities of 200,000 or more population, the large poor family housing shortage for these large cities would total 529,000 units.
>
> Architects face a special challenge to design housing that combines privacy in sleeping quarters, adequate study-recreation space for many children, and economy of total area.
>
> Too many public programs have become encrusted with laws and administrative rulings which discourage the building of dwellings big enough to meet large-family requirements. Such barriers should be replaced with incentives to spur the closing of the large family housing gap.[4]

According to the chart, low income families cannot afford the housing needed for their large families.

In San Francisco in 1968, the average annual rent for decent housing for a six-person family was $1,428. Subtracting the rent from the minimum family income, the balance is $4,284 for all other living purposes. This means about $60.00 per month per person for food, clothing, medical needs, education, recreation, transportation and miscellaneous expenses.

In St. Louis, the family of 11 or more would need a net sum of $45 per month per person for such other living expenses. But a poverty-level income allows only about $22 per month per person for all other living expenses.

Alternatives seem to be generous rent subsidies for the large families or innovations in sleeping room size to accommodate children in the large family at a rent that can be economically feasible. In 1960 the average family income was about $7,500 per year. How much tax money can the middle-income family be expected to pay toward subsidy of the poorly-housed? What amount of taxes will this middle income person support and, at the same time, continue to vote for tax levies for schools and local government?

Size of the Local Gap

In St. Louis, large poor families number more than 16,700. Available housing units for them number 3,000. The gap is 13,700 units. Inadequate housing has been cited as one of several major factors contributing to the current unrest in the central cities, especially among Negroes.

Nationally, this would represent approximately 400,000 children affected by insufficient housing.

How to Meet the Large Poor Family Housing Needs

Architectural imagination and innovation in providing bedroom space for large families should be encouraged. At present, small bedroom size necessitates the artificial limitation of two children of the same sex to one bedroom. Innovation of design with rooms suitable for three to six children in a dormitory-type bedroom, or linking small dwellings to accommodate large families might be solutions.

Higher income limits for persons to remain in public housing might encourage families interested in financial stability to remain in the housing project, and prevent them from worrying lest increased income would necessitate moving.

Programs to Meet the Nation's Urban Housing Needs

To accelerate the rate for meeting urban housing needs, two courses are open: (1) to finance the housing itself; (2) to finance housing-deficit families directly.

Federal legislation has created a bewildering array of housing programs designed to deal with financing. Two of these are of major and critical relevance to the success of the Model Cities Program—low-rent public housing and the FHA below-market-interest rate (moderate-cost housing) program.

For the purpose of meeting housing needs, probably no program has a more effective record of moving families out of substandard, crowded housing directly into standard housing than low-rent public housing. This is true by definition, since the criteria by which a family obtains occupancy are to meet one or both of the housing needs defined in this paper—substandardness and overcrowding—as well as others. The program is beset with difficulties, however. It is unpopular with virtually everybody except its occupants.

The moderate-cost FHA below-market interest program has much greater potential utility than the public housing program, but, for many reasons, it remains largely unrealized.

As a vehicle for directly meeting housing needs it undoubtedly is less efficient than public housing, but it does have the dual advantages of much wider social acceptance and for greater possibilities of rapid expansion.

Direct financial assistance to "housing need" families through *rent supplements* received federal legislative acceptance for the first time in 1965. Existing statutes essentially limit the use of rent supplements to families who occupy new or rehabilitated FHA below-market-interest rate housing. Since little of this

NUMBER OF FAMILIES BELOW MINIMUM INCOME LEVELS NEEDED FOR OBTAINING STANDARD HOUSING IN THREE OF THE SEVEN CITIES STUDIED[5]

City Family Size	No Bedrooms	Minimum Average Rental for Standard Housing *Annual*	*Month*	Minimum Family Income Requirements	Number Families Below Minimum Income Requirements
Philadelphia					
5-6	3	$ 898	$ 75	$3,592	$11,959
7-8	4	1,020	85	4,080	4,747
9-10	5	1,173	98	4,692	1,792
11 or over	6	1,275	106	5,100	654
					$19,162
St. Louis					
5-6	3	1,173	98	4,692	9,732
7-8	4	1,336	111	5,344	4,489
9-10	5	1,717	144	6,868	1.788
11 or over	6	1,989	166	7,956	,720
					$16,729
San Francisco					
5-6	3	1,428	119	5,712	7,282
7-8	4	1,683	140	6,732	2,509
9-10	5	1,836	153	7,344	,601
11 or over	6	2,006	167	8.024	563
					$10,955

LARGE POOR FAMILIES PRESUMED TO REQUIRE SUBSIDIZED HOUSING[6]

City and Family Size	All Families	Non-white Families Number	Percent
St. Louis			
5-6	9,732	5,391	55.4
7-8	4,489	3,042	67.8
9-10	1,788	1,356	75.8
11 or over	720	569	79.0

type of housing has been developed to date, the rent supplement program has not yet really been tested in terms of its potential ability to meet housing needs.

Existing Programs

A. Low-Rent Public Housing[7]

Putting aside the cost and processing difficulties of low-rent public housing, let it be assumed that one million new public housing units are instantly available for construction at any place, in any design, and in any volume within the limits of the allocation to a given community. This housing which would only cost the occupants the $60 to $70 average montly expense of operations once it is constructed, would be available only to families of low income (preferably below $5,000 per year). A city the size of New York, with 6.3 per cent of the nation's urban population, would be entitled to an allocation of 63,000 of these federally financed housing units. The only matter that remains to be settled is where to locate these 63,000 houses or apartments.

- Would they be placed in outlying vacant land sectors of the community? This would require an entire complement of public connections, schools, fire houses, police stations, health facilities, etc. Where would the capital funds come from for this intrastructure? How quickly, or how feasibly, could they be appropriated by the local council? What about transportation facilities for the members of the low-income families, a large proportion of whom hold service jobs in the central business district. (One of the pertinent facts to emerge from studies of the Watts riots in Los Angeles was that the lack of transportation facilities hindered the ability of many persons living in Watts from seeking or holding a job.) At this income level, less than half the families are likely to have automobiles. Under such circumstances, would low-income families be willing to move into outlying areas in large numbers? What about the problem of the new economic and ethnic ghettos that would be created by concentrating large numbers of these structures with their low-income families, in isolated areas?

So far more questions have been raised than answered; perhaps other approaches may be more fruitful.

- Should this housing be located in scattered sites throughout the community? Although this appears to be a sensible approach, it has the disadvantage of competition with private entrepreneurs for available sites in the middle-income and upper-income locations of the city. Additionally, without discussing underlying motivations, enough neighborhood hostilities have been engendered to defeat, in local community councils, many proposals for placing low-cost housing on higher-cost

land. Enough experience is at hand relative to this approach to indicate it would result in the absorption of a minute proportion of the 63,000 units available to a city the size of New York, and this only after extensive debate and dilatory tactics.

– Should this housing be located in rundown (or Model Cities) areas of the city near employment centers? To the extent that these areas are solidly covered with existing structures, the process would, of course, entail extensive relocation of low-income families. It also would lead to a reduction in the supply of low-cost housing in the process of removing substandard housing except where abandoned housing could be used as sites for vest pocket public housing. Since these areas already are heavily endowed with low-income and minority families, this proposal would tend to perpetuate existing economic and ethnic ghettos.

The latter probably would be the hardest objection to answer. Nevertheless, the rebuilding and revitalization of existing low-income (and Model Cities) areas will be halted if the community becomes embroiled in the self-defeating integration-ghetto argument. If the first task of the community is to revitalize neighborhoods and to provide housing to meet the ability to pay of their residents–irrespective of their color or race–then the objection loses force. Breaking up ghetto occupancy becomes a secondary consideration if such an objective is to be realized. New York City, one of the most liberal cities in the nation on this subject, has met persistent failure in public efforts to achieve integrated occupancy of middle-income housing in ghetto areas. The only road to immediate progress in integration is to open white areas to Negro occupancy. Until the latter task is effectively accomplished, the break-up of Negro ghettos will remain in the realm of rhetorical discussion.

The foregoing discussion does indicate, however, that a vast expansion of the existing low-rent public housing outside essentially low-income areas is not likely to be accomplished. On the other hand, the prospect of great new concentrations of low-rent public housing in ghetto areas, with its institutionalized management, to say nothing of appearance, raises no enthusiasm anywhere today. Another objection gaining force is that the useful and desirable social objective of promoting owner occupancy has not been advanced by the public housing program. In short, unless a major overhaul of the low-rent public housing program is achieved to permit it to be utilized as a cooperative housing program, little prospect is foreseen for its significant expansion beyond current levels.

Social Needs In Low– and Moderate–Income Housing

A report prepared for the National Commission on Urban Problems has three major conclusions:[8]

- Most public housing has fulfilled the original objectives of providing safe and sanitary shelter.
- The social environment of many projects, however, leaves much to be desired. From the viewpoint of strengthening individual and family life, public housing is "tragically deficient."
- The chief weaknesses of public housing have been "lack of flexibility and versatility, and inability to generate momentum." The principal cause of these weaknesses has been an "absence of national and local commitment."

More Than Shelter

Recommendations to the President's Committee on Urban Housing for improving federal effort are:

- A vast increase in the production of housing for low-and moderate income families, spread throughout all parts of metropolitan areas and otherwise designed to avoid economic stratification.
- The fostering of a sense of community.
- Use of a variety of special programs to cope with severe social behavioral problems so that no family need be denied housing as is now the case in some projects because of such problems.
- Accelerated use of new approaches for public housing such as rent supplements, turnkey housing, leased housing, and scattered sites.

Destructive Elements in the Housing Program

Several elements of the housing program have tended to be destructive of the community:

- The FHA helped to stimulate suburban development and accelerated the abandonment of the central city and the less affluent by middle-income whites. FHA-assisted suburban communities have tended to be inhospitable to blacks, regardless of economic class, and to the nonaffluent.
- Urban renewal destroyed whatever community structure existed in clearance areas and aggravated the dislocation and instability of other neighborhoods through the relocation process.
- Conventional public housing by its very nature tended to be anti-community.

The flight to the suburbs is not solely due to the federal housing programs. The tremendous growth of urban populations, the rising level of affluence, automobiles and highways, the availability of land, all contributed.

Much of this suburban housing development occurred without federal aid. However, FHA loans made it possible for many people to buy suburban homes with a very low down payment. After the first ten-year surge of housing development in the suburbs, there has followed a vast development of industrial parks and wholesale distribution businesses in the suburbs.

However, as Charles Abrams in *The City Is the Frontier* has stated, the policy

of the federal government was one of entrepreneurial welfare rather than the general welfare. Government might have chosen to spur development within the cities or on the fringes. It chose the latter and, in the process, abetted the decay of the center.

Some Basic Recommendations for the Solution of Urban Housing and Related Social Problems

Eight suggestions from among many are recommended for action in the solution of urban shelter and accompanying social problems:

1. *If the urban crisis is to be resolved, the government, both federal and local, must assume the responsibility of assuring the provision of both adequate shelter and a decent constructive environment (physical and social) for every family, including the most disorganized and the least responsive and cooperative.*
2. *Simplistic solutions are not the answer. A comprehensive program is essential and must embrace such broad considerations as:*
   - Training and job opportunities for every employable person.
   - A basic guaranteed income for every family.
   - Restructuring the fiscal resources available to municipalities to assure greatly increased municipal housekeeping services.
   - Substantial improvement in both the quantity and quality of municipal services, including protection of citizens.
   - Imaginative and creative approaches to the revitalization, renewal and reconstruction of inner city neighborhoods, working with and through the people who reside there.
   - Devising ways to develop skills and provide funds for involving people of every economic and social level and every cultural group in programs and activities of social and economic advancement and improvement of physical-social environment.
   - Accelerated expansion and improvement of total housing supply.
   - Elimination of social, economic and racial-ethnic barriers to mobility.
   - Development of new racially and economically inclusive neighborhoods and new towns throughout all metropolitan areas.
   - Bridging the economic gap between the cost of decent shelter and the capacity of people to pay, through such means as guaranteed minimum income, rent supplements, homeownership subsidies, tax abatements and direct housing subsidies.
   - Provision of intensive health, counseling, psychiatric, and community organization services as needed to assist families and neighborhood groups in coping with their individual and community problems.
3. *The existing patchwork of*

separately funded and administered federal programs is confusing and frustrating to municipal and local civic and political leadership and administrations.

4. *The shelter needs for a large proportion of the low-income population can probably be best served through a system of subsidies to the families rather than by subsidizing houses.*
5. *It is probably unwise for any one agency, such as a local housing authority, to function as planner, developer, and manager of all the housing required for the low-income population. Operational responsibilities should be divided and decentralized into relatively small, manageable units controlled at least partially by residents.*
6. *The private sector is unlikely to accept the responsibility of providing shelter for multiproblem and uncooperative families. There is likely to be a continuing need for established public standards necessary for a decent physical-social environment.*
7. *The federal and local governments operating through local housing authorities or similar agencies must provide shelter for all those who cannot be accommodated through the private sector.*
8. *Massive concentrations of multiproblem families can be avoided. Local authorities (or equivalent institutions) should be funded and equipped to provide shelter and intensive services to such families on a highly specialized basis.*
   Individual units and small clusters should be utilized and should be as widely dispersed as possible. The quarters need not and should not be elaborate. The objective should be to generate the opportunities, motivations, incentives, and capabilities to enable the family to move into other housing.

Summary

Urban renewal is praised by some authors who say that land-taking is equitable and that results are good. On the other hand, it is pointed out that the land is often used for commercial purposes. Persons whose homes have been destroyed seldom get housing in the same neighborhood, but must move to another area abandoned because the housing there was no longer suitable for large low-income families. The picture of urban renewal is often advertised as an opportunity to provide parking and potted trees downtown. Reality is that aged, uneducated, poverty-stricken persons must move away from city services, shopping areas and a community known to them.

An alternative to the usual urban renewal pattern would be to renew a few blocks at a time and to include housing, shops and industry.

Housing alone is not the total solution. Better housing

- may be a factor in the school performance of children.
- may help physical health in reducing

morbidity, chronic illness and accidents.
– may help mental health.

Family life may be enhanced if, in addition to having adequate housing:

the family
– does things together.
– is interested in the children's activities.
– assists the housewife with work around the house.

the family has neighbors in whom to be interested.

the family has aspirations.
– jobs
– education
– children's future
– home ownership
– keeping up the neighborhood

The family has an interest in the community and a church.

Elizabeth Burney in *Housing on Trial* says, "Cities are created and nourished by immigrants, yet never welcome them." The city turns a blind eye to the peasant, rejecting him and depressing his ambitions of attainments because of race or income level. She further points out that the stranger coming to the city is often the head of a young or large family, has low pay, is a mobile worker or a shift worker, or is an unmarried mother–all with limitations to their opportunities for getting ahead.

The statements by Elizabeth Burney are a challenge to the city. However, in most cases the suburbs should be challenged for the same reasons; the suburbs compound the problem by:
– reducing the percentage of middle-income and higher-income families in the city.
– crisscrossing the city with highways, creating problems of pollution and parking.
– becoming the economic magnet for shopping centers reducing inner city jobs.
– becoming the location for new industries providing jobs not so accessible to the lower income groups left in the city.

Finally, the people of the city, the suburbs, the state, and the nation are confronted with many varying challenges concerning the shelter problems of the city.

It is evident that, because of the complexity of the shelter problems of the inner city, no one panacea will suffice. Solutions must be on many fronts at varying levels and with alternate and concurrent efforts toward solutions constantly weighed and pursued.

APPENDIX (Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Bureau of Labor Statistics; Estimates)

A. U.S. Work Force 1953-1968

Distribution by Occupations

Occupational Group	1953 Number	1968 Number	Percentage Increase
Managers	6,118,000	7,776,000	27
Professionals	5,372,000	10,325,000	92
Clerical	7,778,000	12,803,000	64.6
Service	5,138,000	7,656,000	49
Crafts	8,818,000	10,015,000	13
Operatives	12,886,000	13,995,000	8
All Occupations	61,228,000	75,920,000	24

B. U.S. Work Force 1953 and 1968 by Occupations

Occupational Group	% of Work Force 1953	% of Work Force 1963	% of Work Force 1968	1953 to 1968 Increase
Managers	10.0	10.2	10.2	27.0%
Professionals	8.8	10.9	13.6	92.0%
Clerical	14.9	14.9	16.9	64.6%
Service	8.4	9.8	10.1	49.0%
Crafts	14.4	13.1	13.2	13.0%
Operatives	21.0	17.9	18.4	8.0%
All Occupations	–	–	–	24.0%

Tendencies from 1953 to 1968 show a pattern of increase in some of the occupations which require that employees have training beyond the high school.

Negroes and white persons who can qualify should benefit from college degrees which are especially related to business and industry. In 1971 there is a pronounced tendency for business and industry to seek Negroes for jobs as managers and professionals as well as clerical and service jobs.

It might be noted that the changes from 1963 to 1968 are significant. Nevertheless, reliable estimates for 1971 indicate that some of the occupations vary from earlier tendencies. For example computer science and various other factors have caused a rapid rise in the initial salaries of accounting graduates to the point that these initial salaries are in close competition with salaries offered engineering graduates.

C. U.S. Work Force 1953-1968 - Men and Women

Distribution by Occupations - Percentage of Total

Occupational Group	1953 Total	1963 Total	1968 Men	1968 Women	1969 Total
Managers	10.0	10.2	13.6	4.6	10.2
Professionals	8.8	10.9	13.4	13.9	13.6
Clerical	12.7	14.9	7.1	33.6	16.9
Service	8.4	9.8	6.8	15.6	10.1
Crafts	14.4	13.1	20.2	1.1	13.2
Operatives	21.0	17.9	20.1	15.3	18.4

Women exceed men in numbers in: clerical, service, and household occupations. Men exceed in: crafts and operatives.

Questions

A. What is the effect of high interest rates of the early 1970's on middle income housing?

B. Can no-interest financing be justified in the ghetto?

C. What are the prospects for Negro housing

1. located near suburban industry and jobs?

2. one or two Negro families per block-integration?

3. public housing in the suburbs near industry and jobs?

FOOTNOTES

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INTEGRATION OR SEPARATISM: WHICH WAY DO WE GO?

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The Basis of the Problem

When we discuss the current dilemmas of race in the United States we often forget that basically we are discussing the success or, more often, the failure of an ethnic minority group in its attempts to find a place for its members on as close as possible to an equal footing with members of other groups in the society. But what do we mean when we place the 11 per cent of Americans who happen to be black into the larger category of an ethnic minority group? By doing this we simply are attempting to make the terms we use more clear and thus set up a basis for comparison of events that affect or have in the past affected these groups, the black community included. By doing so we do not intend in any way to minimize the difficulties experienced by the black community in the United States nor do we mean to imply that the problems experienced by the Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, or Irish-Americans are identical to those experienced by the black community. In the set of terms we use, the concept *ethnic* is key. The term *ethnic* generally refers to any group that has characteristics visibly different from those of other major groups in society. These ethnic characteristics can be based on differences in such factors as religion, national origin (second and third generation included), and race. These different characteristics are shared, of course, by persons in the group and they tend to add unity to the group.

Going one step further, when we discuss minority ethnic group problems in American society generally, we sooner or later talk about the American *melting pot*. This concept, in reality, helps lay the groundwork for the way in which we have come to believe all ethnic minority groups *ought* to behave in American society. When we use the term *melting pot* we simply mean that such groups in American society have usually accommodated themselves, so to speak, to the core culture of the United States. In this process, the core culture is changed only slightly while the differing culture of the ethnic group is changed greatly. In the process of accommodation to social customs and values in the United States, ethnic minority groups have, for instance, often sacrificed their characteristic styles of dress, language, and certain aspects of religious belief and practice. Politically, accommodation has occured along a broad scale of political belief and practice that is included in the Ameri-

can system. Jews in America have accommodated in part by adopting a generally liberal political attitude. This was due, at least in part, to the experience of Jews with persecution in Europe and later with discrimination in the United States. For these reasons, they came to favor practices and institutions in the American system that encouraged and protected individual rights and civil liberties. The story of the gradual assimilation of the Jews is well known, both in the past and as an ongoing thing. They have gradually moved into positions of high status, influence and income, especially in business and the professions, and they have usually depended on the stepping stone provided by the educational system. On the other hand, the Irish-Catholic Americans have adjusted to the system by adopting a more conservative set of political attitudes. The cause of this kind of accommodation is thought to lie mainly in the religious system of Catholicism which relies greatly on orthodoxy and the importance of established authority. The Irish moved up the ladder of success in the United States by winning political office and by getting government jobs in the urban political machines of the early part of this century. They attained positions of higher status, influence and income in this and other ways. But the important point in any example we might look at is that these familiar ethnic groups accommodated themselves to the prevailing system and culture. If they took, for instance, either a liberal or conservative approach, the orientation of the group never went beyond the limits of tolerance that existed in the core culture. The group had made the decision to work within the system operated by the majority.

Because of long familiarity with the melting pot idea, we have come to believe in it and thus we expect minority groups to behave in a conciliatory way toward the larger society. We expect them to make every effort possible to integrate with it. We expect considerable compromise in this process, with the minority group doing most of the compromising. Such was the American experience with most of the immigrant groups. Only a few small ethnic groups have chosen to remain separate from the larger society and thus to keep intact their distinctive marks of special culture in terms of dress, or rules of behavior. The clearest modern examples of such groups are the Amish and the Mennonites. Each group has a distinctive culture as compared with the American culture. But they recently experienced increasing difficulty in holding their members.

Even though the melting pot idea may provide a fairly valid description of American experience with ethnic groups, it has a serious fault. For many people the idea tends to become part of an ideology. Many view the melting pot as based on an *automatic* social mechanism in American society. They come to feel that if an ethnic group makes certain compromises and accommodates to American society, it then will automatically be incorporated into the mainstream of American life. They may persist in such a belief even after the facts show that there is nothing necessarily automatic about this process.

The experience of Black America is such a contradictory fact.

There is another important concept that usually arises in these discussions. It has to do with how we believe politics works in the United States. That is, it concerns how we think individuals or groups get to have a voice in big decisions (usually governmental decisions) in the society. The central concept is *pluralism*. *Pluralism* means very generally that there are many avenues to the kind of influence mentioned. Like the melting pot idea, pluralism is largely a valid description of political activity in the United States. We often have observed, for example, that if a group does not succeed in having its case heard or given satisfactory consideration at the federal level of government, it may next try the state and local level or, having failed to gain influence in the legislative process, the group may turn to the executive or the judiciary. We also have come to believe that groups organize and attempt to further their interests when enough members become aroused and feel that organization is necessary to protect or further their interests. After organizing, presumably a group can expect to succeed by entering into bargains with other groups in the society. We said that this is to some extent an accurate description; but the problem with the pluralism concept is that many have come to view these processes as automatic. In short, there have been significant differences in the black experience in America that make the application of our conventional concepts possible only by distorting the facts themselves. A look at a few well known facts illustrates our point.

Since *success* generally has been measured in economic terms in the United States, and since the general American culture stresses individual achievement, it has been up to the individual ethnic group member to move from a low position up the ladder of economic success. Most often in the past he did this by taking advantage of the open and individualistic economic system, the political party system and, most important, the educational system. But the long-standing lack of opportunity black Americans have had in the economic system in terms of good jobs and the accumulation of capital is unique. Up to the present time, black participation in party politics has been minimal. This was to be expected since a large part of the black American population living in the South was systematically excluded from the franchise. A recent national study by the United States Office of Education clearly shows that the educational system has not been open for black Americans. [1] The story in that sector has been one of legal or *de facto* segregation, inferior instruction and facilities and the lack of achievement motivation due to poor economic and other conditions.

Ethnic groups have often combined or organized to advance the particular interests of the entire group. They have organized to elect one of their members to represent their interests in political office and thus allow the group some voice in how decisions that affect them are made. A glance at the city council of a major American city shows the representation of various national, reli-

gious and racial groups there. Until very recently, however, black Americans have been largely unrepresented in these multi-group organizations and most often have been simply controlled by them.

Laying aside the valid aspects of the concepts of melting pot and ethnic group accommodation, and taking a closer look at human behavior, we find that the feelings that people have with regard to belonging to an ethnic group continue much longer than we thought. That is, ethnic groups have still maintained some of their unity. On the part of individual members, psychologists call this identification. The large American cities, for instance, can still be described as a patchwork of third generation Americans. And in terms of the basic way people view the world around them, we recently have come to realize that, even though the language and dress might have disappeared long ago, many people still view the world from a Polish-American or Italian-American or Catholic point of view. Political scientists, for instance, have learned that the ethnic group ties of even second and third generation Americans can affect the way people vote. When a voting decision comes up, the voter with Irish origins tends to vote for the candidate with similar background characteristics rather than, for instance, a candidate of Polish origins. These realizations are more than just interesting in themselves. They are important for a basic understanding of what is happening between whites and blacks in the United States. Where ethnic ties have been important for some time among white ethnic groups that joined White America, they are just emerging as a source of unity and thus a source of power for Black America.

The long enduring conflict between black and white in America is not new, nor is it completely unique. Since the early history of this country, like all individual histories, is somewhat unique, the struggle is different from others, but mainly in detail. Conflict and lack of accommodation between ethnic minority groups and those that governed the core culture have occurred before in American history. The story is so familiar that it need not be repeated here. Around the world today we see conflicts like this in present societies; the Great Russians and the Ukranians, the Czechs and the Slovaks, the British-Canadians and the French-Canadians, or even more generally the Catholics and the Protestants or the Christians and the Jews. The most peculiar aspects of the white and black division in the United States concern the length of time it has existed without major change, the painfully slow pace in integration (a goal sought in both groups) and the fact that the division seems to become more intense. What makes the situation painful for all is the fact of the wide acceptance of melting pot and pluralism in our belief system. Neither one has worked well, even with help, and certainly neither has worked *automatically*.

The situation between black and white is not completely grim, however; there has been some progress toward including black people in the mainstream of American political, social and economic

life. But all too often the apparent progress can rightfully be described as "tokenism." In most cases the descrepancies between the great mass of black and white citizens' piece of the American pie have not substantially lessened and, in some areas, they have actually widened. In the black community today there is not only an impatience with the pace of change in the direction of integration, but there is something more threatening to the melting pot and pluralism ideals. In many cases, segments of the black community, especially in urban areas, have been alienated from the traditional American institutions around them. They have become distrustful of the institutions themselves, making further accommodation most difficult. After years of effort directed toward integration into the mainstream of American society and its core culture, we are experiencing a growing "separatist" movement. A separatist movement of any influence in such a sizeable part of American poses a serious challenge to the social-political system. The statements of a prominent leader of the movement toward racial equality clearly illustrate the extent of this change in basic orientation. Recently Roy Innis, national director of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), an organization traditionally and strongly committed to the purposes of integration, said with regard to school desegregation, "We are no longer in the integrationist bag.... We have restructured our approach. White folks don't want integration... and black folks don't want it either." He was arguing for *separate* school systems for black and white in order that the black community might improve its control of the institutions that serve it. Said Innis, "This type of thing (separate schools) can give America a new lease on life. ... It can defuse the time bomb (enforced integration) and give us time to find what is the most effective way to deal with group equality." Innis further stated that CORE wished to ignore the "Eastern liberal press, the old civil rights aristocracy and the integrational bureaucrats of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare."[2] In recent years CORE has reversed from an integrationist to a separatist orientation.

There is thus a feeling of exploitation, a turning away from the larger white society and its institutions and a turning toward the black community itself. The conflict has reached such proportions that the problems of Black America have become the problems of White America as well. White America has a share, a stake in the way that Black America resolves its pressing dilemma, in deciding which way to go at the present crossroads. Can it be integration or must it be separatism? In the words of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., "Where do we go from here?" Let us examine the possibilities.

Integration - The "Old" Alternative

Since neither the process of the melting pot nor pluralism worked automatically, what was to be done? The answer generally has been to push for vigorous, positive activity, usually with the help of the government, to get black people *into* American society. It would be difficult to put all those advocating

further integration of black people into American society in one group. It would be just as erroneous to assume that all those who do so advocate wish to use the same means to accomplish this goal. There is, first of all, the large group that initially fought for basic constitutional rights for black Americans, the "old civil rights aristocracy." The group includes both blacks and whites and its spokesmen have typically been leaders in such organizations as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League. The means that these groups espouse, and the means traditionally employed in the civil rights movement, is legal action to insure "equal opportunity." The point has been to press, first of all, for equality in the states, generally in terms of the basic rights outlined in the Bill of Rights of the United States Constitution. Such rights have been denied most often by individual states. Next, the move should proceed to open all avenues to the success and well-being of black people in the American system. These avenues include employment, housing, the administration of justice and most important, education. The equal opportunity group has generally espoused the necessity of the intervention of legitimate governmental authority in the form of Supreme Court decisions, executive orders or other actions taken by Presidents (such as the sending of federal troops into Little Rock by President Eisenhower to enforce desegregation in high school), and finally action by Congress in the form of public law. This group has generally believed in following the established rules of the system.

A second and more recent integrationist group is the one which has pushed for "direct action." Direct action advocates have, in many cases, championed the strictly legal approach along with the new one. The most prominent spokesmen for this approach in earlier years came from organizations such as Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and CORE. More recently, members of the old civil rights aristocracy and others have advocated direct action as well. This group generally feels that the traditional methods of working through legitimate governmental processes which were presumably set up to carry out change have been at best too slow in operation and outcome, and, at worst, complete failures. They ask for direct action with or without the sanction of legitimate governmental authority and indeed sometimes against governmental institutions themselves. The latter aspect is demonstrated by such activities as "sit-ins" and picketing of police stations, county court houses and military installations, and strikes in the public schools.

There is a third integrationist group which advocates still another means. It appears quite often as the most innovative of the three. This group espouses racial "balance" or numerical black representation in all American organizations as the only effective step toward integration. This group has grown steadily in recent years. There are no readily identifiable leaders, as it seems to draw leaders and followers from the other two groups,

regardless of organizational ties. It includes a large segment of the old civil rights aristocracy, both black and white liberals, and a sizeable group of administrators such as those in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare responsible for compliance with governmental integration policies by organizations that receive federal money.

Much of the intra-group conflict we have seen among these integrationist groups is caused by the lack of agreement on means, and sometimes by a lack of understanding of where each stands on the use of these methods. And even such leaders as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. would shift from one means to another, confusing the picture. In short, integrationists have been in an occasional state of confusion because they have not clearly agreed on what technique should be used. Even so, using whatever technique seems to fit the problem at hand has been substituted for agreement of this kind, but there has always been at least implicit agreement on the underlying goals.

In 1954 the Supreme Court declared with its landmark decision in Brown vs. the Board of Education that the "separate but equal" rule, established almost 60 years earlier in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case, was unconstitutional with regard to southern school segregation. It ordered desegregation to proceed with "all deliberate speed." This decision was a major victory in a long and difficult struggle by the old civil rights aristocracy. The ruling in Plessy vs. Ferguson had provided the legal sanction for outright racial segregation in American institutions. By the end of 1969, however, desegration in the southern schools had not proceeded very far, and the Supreme Court ordered that it be accomplished immediately. This torturous question has not yet been settled. The current Nixon administration, in fact, seems to have complicated the picture by pushing for a "go slow" policy in school desegregation. There is now serious doubt of the complete implementation of this decision in the near future. The discrepancy between the Supreme Court decision and actual segregation breakdown is a most perplexing problem.

There are explanations that help us understand why so very little has been done on this score in the past fifteen years. But it seems the key fact is that white and black Americans have drifted farther apart on the issue of the education of the young in recent years than on any other issue of American life. There is now the clear realization that in every area outside the South, *de facto* segregation exists in the schools with the situation becoming increasingly grim. Northern, western and eastern *de facto* segregation in the schools has proved a most intractable problem. There is now a movement to force integration in the public schools in these areas by bussing students to achieve racial balance. Many white liberals see this as putting an end to the hypocrisy of pressing the South while segregation in others areas grows more acute. But many blacks see this move as a sign of a conspiracy to scuttle the school desegration program altogether. They have become distrustful and have begun to favor a program of

community control and separatism.

Let us look at the balance sheet to see where moves toward integration have gotten us in recent American experience.

Legal Equal Opportunity

In 1944 the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the "white primary," or the practice of excluding black people from the Democratic primaries held in the South, and started the move toward more black participation in the electoral process. Attorneys defending the white primary had argued that political parties were private associations and thus could practice racial discrimination if they so chose. In its decision, however, the court declared that political parties and their primary elections are integral parts of the electoral process and may not discriminate for that reason. In 1946 the Court ruled that segregation of passengers in interstate travel was unlawful, while in 1948 it found that federal and state courts may not uphold covenants drawn up by groups of private persons which stipulated racial or religious restrictions. In the latter case such covenants had been used to restrict black people from buying homes in primarily white areas.

In these early years the executive branch was on the move as well. In 1941 President Roosevelt issued an executive order which forbade discrimination in defense industries or government employment, and President Truman set up the President's Committee on Civil Rights in 1947. Presidents' committees or commissions are a standard means of studying a serious social question and making recommendations to the President for major policy change. The Committee on Civil Rights published the often-cited volume *To Secure These Rights.* This document surveyed most of the problems of inequality in American life, making several sweeping recommendations. The issues raised by the Committee dealt with forms of discrimination that affected groups besides black Americans. It discussed, for instance, the clear discrimination practiced in some colleges and universities against Jews and Catholics. Resulting from this report, Truman ended segregation in the Army in 1948 with an executive order. With another order that year he put an end to discrimination on the basis of race, religion or national origin in civilian federal employment practices. Because of the influence the federal government began to have on the states through "strings" it attached to grant-in-aid programs, it was able to encourage non-discrimination in state and local government personnel systems as well.

Action on the part of Congress was much slower in coming. This was true in spite of the fact that it was widely recognized by integrationists that specific civil rights laws should be passed so the Executive Branch could have a substantial basis for its moves against segregation and discrimination. Such legislation was considered important for symbolic reasons as well: it would symbolize more clearly a national policy on the integration of the races through guaranteed equal opportunity than would any other kind of governmental act. Congress at this time truly lived up to its reputation as the most status quo-

oriented branch of government. A series of efforts was made and a series of failures was experienced by the integrationists. But after much general effort and debate Congress finally passed a civil rights act in 1957. The act provided some remedy in the federal courts for those denied the right to vote, strengthened the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and set up the United States Civil Rights Commission as a research and advisory organization to study possible denials of civil rights and to make appropriate recommendations regarding public policy change on these issues. In 1960 Congress passed another civil rights act allowing federal district courts to appoint voting referees where there were patterns of discrimination in voting registration practices. These referees could order that a qualified voter be admitted to the polls. Their authority was clearly meant to be directed toward institutionalized practices in the South. A more comprehensive Civil Rights Act was passed in 1964. Passage of this act was the result of a truly massive campaign on the part of integrationist groups. It was a breakthrough for civil rights as important as the initial Supreme Court decision in Brown vs. the Board of Education. It was a more comprehensive act and did in fact symbolize an overall national policy of equal opportunity in terms of basic rights. It prohibited discrimination in all public accommodations involved in interstate transportation and commerce as well as publicly operated facilities in general; created the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) to enforce standards of non-discrimination in employment; gave all government agencies the power to halt federal funding of state and local programs in which discrimination was practiced; outlawed the practice of using voting registrars who employed a double standard when registering white or black voters, subjecting potential black voters to unreasonable standards in order to qualify (standards that the average white voter could not hope to meet in many cases); created a Community Relations Service to mediate in racial conflicts; and authorized the Attorney General to bring suit in federal court against persons who discriminated and denied a citizen a constitutional right. Although the implementation has sometimes been spotty, serious attempts at gaining compliance have been made on these points. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 went still further in opening up the electoral process for participation by the black voter. It suspended literacy tests and other such tests used to qualify voters where these were used to exclude black people; authorized the appointment of voting examiners and strengthened their ability to order the registration of voters; provided for these federal voting examiners to observe elections held over a wide area in the South; made the approval of the Attorney General or a federal court necessary before any new voting law could take effect; and declared the poll tax a violation of the right to vote. Another civil rights act was passed in 1968 providing for equal opportunity in open housing across the country.

These events become significant when we compare the tools placed at the discretion of government authority before

World War II and after 1965. But it is also very important to note that these were "legal" changes and were aimed at the equalization of fundamental constitutional rights. They did not even attempt to get at the basic underlying causes of the black-white conflict, subtle forms of economic discrimination or racism itself. They were truly important victories, though, in the integrationists' struggle for equal opportunity. The tireless efforts of the leaders in such organizations as the NAACP must be given most of the credit. But laws, executive orders and Supreme Court decisions must be implemented or enforced, and the time lag between enactments by a legislature or decisions by a court and the full realization of their intent can be considerable.

Another point we should remember here is that the enactment and implementation of voting rights acts are more important in the black minority's increasing participation in American politics and government than they appear to be on the surface. Few avenues of access to the American mainstream of life are as promising for the deprived minorities as those that result in placing group members in positions of power in government and politics.

In recent times there has been some progress, and increasing black influence in these positions has had practical as well as symbolic importance. Edward Brooke of Massachusetts was elected to the U.S. Senate, becoming the first black man since Reconstruction days to hold that post. Thurgood Marshall became the first black associate justice of the Supreme Court in history, and two blacks were elected mayors of major industrial cities--Carl Stokes in Cleveland and Richard Hatcher in Gary, Indiana. Participation by blacks in state government also has increased greatly in the last decade. In 1960, only 30 black state representatives and six senators held office in state legislatures; by early 1967, some 123 blacks were representatives and 31 were senators in the legislatures of 27 states, and 53 per cent of potential black voters in the south were eligible to vote.

Other minorities have used these avenues in the past. They often entered into regular government jobs when possible. The use of political or governmental jobs for simple material gain by persons in these earlier minority groups was a well-known aspect of city politics. The ability of ethnic group members to get gainful employment was much facilitated by the urban political patronage machines; there were usually plenty of such jobs around to be awarded to loyal party workers, supporters and their relatives. It is rare now for any group but the black community or the other contemporary deprived ethnic groups, such as the Mexican-Americans, to consider political and governmental jobs in terms of economic gain. White society usually views such jobs as potential access points to the political decision making process and nothing more. The economic needs of middle-income white society have been satisfied in many cases. As a result of these facts the federal government since World War II has become the major employer of black Americans, with the larger city governments following closely. Government also has turned out to be

the place where at least some mobility has occurred toward professional, technical and administrative positions of higher status and income. In any case, government employment through patronage or civil service or getting group members elected to public office should never be overlooked as a necessity in any integrationist plan.

We should also add here that other legal enactments on the state and local level served to stimulate integration, if not actually to guarantee equal opportunity as they were meant to do. Many states and municipalities passed fair employment practices and open housing laws and ordinances. Much of this activity amounted in reality to very little in practical outcomes for black job seekers or in housing for black families. It would be, however, overly cynical to think of these measures as merely tools of a "conspiracy" of some kind. Many well-intentioned and liberal-minded individuals were behind these efforts. When the measures failed to bring about much change, once again, the fault was usually due to a lack of zeal in implementation. Any program worth the effort of getting it through the Congress or the state legislature or the city council is worth the extra effort of continuous support to get its provisions implemented by the bureaucracy. The lesson to be learned in these cases is that pressure must be kept up with such programs after the actual law or ordinance has been passed.

Direct Action

The second segment of the civil rights or integrationist movement was that which came to be associated with the technique of "direct action." Advocates of the direct action approach would welcome the intervention of legitimate governmental authority at any time but would not think it was an essential factor in pressing for equal opportunity. Direct action was to be focused on offending parts of the society, whether they be private clubs, educational institutions or government itself. Direct action advocates ask for group action of a non-violent kind that puts pressure on individuals, groups or institutions that discriminate, forcing them to end these practices.

In 1955 the black community in Montgomery, Ala. started a boycott of the segregated bus transportation system in that city. The boycott ended in federal intervention, created much publicity for the direct action advocates, and ended in victory for the boycott. With the heightened activity of the past few decades it seems sit-ins have been with us for a long time. Actually they are fairly new in American experience with the civil rights movement. The first sit-in took place in 1960 at a dime store lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C. Several students from a nearby college took part in that event, which attracted national attention. Many other such events occurred in quick succession in the early 1960's, including the now famous "freedom rides" to test the implementation of desegregation of transportation facilities under federal laws and court decisions, and the frequent picketing and marching with regard to local issues that are often covered by the news media. Direct action was the method used in 1963 in the protest in Birmingham, Ala. over that city's delay in moving

toward desegregation. The action caused a violent reaction from local police and led to clashes between police and demonstrators, as well as to the jailing of many demonstrators, including Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. But perhaps the most impressive example of direct action was the 1963 "March on Washington," in which 200,000 participated to pressure Congress to pass the civil rights legislation under consideration (later the Civil Rights Act of 1964). The "Poor Peoples' March," directed by Ralph Abernathy of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is another example.

In review, the technique of direct action should be viewed as complementary to the more formalistic and methodical approach of, for example, the NAACP. The goals in both cases are the same. Direct action attracts publicity, concentrates public attention on the issue at hand, and puts the resulting pressure on public or private officials to make decisions favorable to civil rights and integration. Other groups seeking to redress their grievances as quickly as possible have observed how these two techniques can be used together with good results in some cases and have copied them. Examples include the poverty groups, American Indians, the student movement, the anti-war movement and the women's liberation movement. The most serious drawback to the direct action approach is the possibility of violent reaction on the part of antagonistic groups. More often than not, however, the risk is considered worth it.

But even though legal and direct action moves went hand in hand, the groups that supported these two approaches reacted differently to the pace of *actual* integration. In reality, it did not necessarily follow that racial equality was at hand because there were several new laws on the books and many direct action episodes on record. Many who thought direct action would work quickly became frustrated by the actual facts of continuing inequality and turned toward the philosophy of those groups that were originally separatist in their approach. Some of these may be said to have been ahead of their time in light of later history. They may be typified by the Black Muslim movement. The Black Muslims separated themselves completely from white society, giving up any attempt at integration. In the 1950's and early 1960's they organized in the major cities and adopted special styles of dress, rules of behavior, economic institutions that were owned and controlled by the sect, and even a non-Christian religion, Islam. They opened up a new alternative to the black community.

It should be pointed out that pressing for change through legal means was most successful when it focused directly on constitutional rights most people in this society seem to feel should be upheld for every citizen, even if they do often backslide when it comes to concrete cases. The most successful direct action attempts tended to be those in the sector of well established rights. The direct action moves of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., for example, that were aimed at the redress of grievance over denials of

basic constitutional rights, were decidedly more successful than his later attempts to dramatize urban ghetto living conditions in particular and poverty in the United States in general.

We mentioned that even though movements toward the equalization of basic constitutional rights meet with resistance, ultimately most Americans believe these to be legitimate claims. The question becomes more tricky, however, when we employ the technique of pressing for racial "balance" in the society as the ultimate technique for integrating the society. This is the newest approach attributable to the third group of integrationists. It may prove to be the final test of the future hope for the integrationist movement. The "balance approach" is illustrated best by the various proposals to bus school children to achieve racial balance in previously neighborhood-dominated schools; to balance the assignments of black and white teachers in these schools in much the same way; or to insist that labor unions or universities have a specified percentage of black workers, students or faculty. The use of the balance approach has had the serious drawback of alienating the majority of White America. As mentioned before, other ethnic groups did not have to resort to this approach. It clashes with traditional orientations toward such things as neighborhood schools and open competition in job seeking. White acceptance of this approach has been slow in coming.

In spite of its drawbacks, the balance approach seems to be the only route for the integrationist movement at this point. The time limit for integration's success is drawing near. No matter what laws exist, an ethnic group depressed socially and disadvantaged economically for as long as black Americans have been may not be capable of taking advantage of opportunities. For example, a chronically unemployed. Undernourished and neglected man may have neither the knowledge about the issues nor the energy necessary to exercise his right to vote, even if no formal obstacles stand in his way. Moving him into American society by pressing for balance might be the only way out.

Separatism- The New Alternative

One strong reaction to the realization of white racism and the slow pace of integration in society has been to reverse the whole policy, to turn toward separatism. Few ethnic groups in the United States have chosen this goal. Where they have so chosen, it has usually been out of a deep-felt need to separate the group from the normal run of society, not so much from fear for bare survival as from religious conviction. As we discussed earlier, ethnic groups, like other groups in American society, have organized to further their interests by pushing for the good things that society has to offer. Pluralism and interest group formation became hallmarks of the American system.

But separatism is a fundamental rejection of this entire pattern of thinking. It means fundamentally that a group turns in toward itself, usually creating its own institutions that serve its own customs and values which are thought not compatible with accommodation

in the larger society. When groups that have been involved in the move toward integration splinter off and adopt separatist ideals, as some have done, they initially have involved themselves in a black cultural and social renaissance. This has involved among black people a searching for the identity that has been thought to be denied in the American culture. This usually means going back to the African heritage and an insistance on setting uniquely *black* standards of beauty, accomplishment and conduct. By the same token, this approach implicitly or explicitly rejects the standards of behavior and values of the major white society as being irrelevant for black people.

The separatist movement has grown and has joined forces with what once was only a small and eccentric sect, the Black Muslims, whose philosophy has infiltrated other black separatist organizations to a large degree. The Muslims, principally through the strong leadership and organizational ability of their leader, Elijah Muhammed, and the now almost legendary Malcolm X, spread the belief that there was no hope for the black man who was trying to integrate white American society, that white people would not allow it, and that their society is a corrupting influence anyway. The black man's only hope for survival with dignity was in complete separation from that society. As a matter of fact, Muslims considered the black integrationist leaders of the old civil rights aristocracy as objects of derision. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., for instance, was called "Martin Luther Queen" and Thurgood Marshall was called "The Ugly American" in the pages of the Muslim newspaper *Muhammed Speaks.* The Muslims adopted their own unique culture and truly separated themselves from White America.

The Black Muslim movement probably has lost importance in recent years, not because its ideas did not catch on, but because they did. There are many subgroups today that have adopted separatist orientations and many Muslim ideas. Their orientations are often similar to those of the original Muslims; thus these sub-groups have offered black Americans more organizational choices than before.

Let us look at the varieties of orientations that now fall under the general heading of separatism. Separatism is most clearly discussed in such a review by dividing it into the component concepts supporting it today; black power, black nationalism and black economic development.

Black Power

Not only has assimilation into white society failed, thus indicting the outward good intentions of the liberal white segment of the civil rights movement, but increasingly strong feeling has arisen in the black community that the white majority is engaged in an outright campaign of exploitation. White liberals are perceived as being only slightly less guilty than racists, the latter at least being honest. In short, white society is seen not only as conservative and hindering the progress of black people, but as damaging the black community, since

it controls the institutions that affect the lives of black people. Many have cried that the schools black children attend are usually poor and do not teach; that sanitation departments serving the ghetto do not provide a decent level of public health; that employment agencies serving the ghetto do not really find jobs; that welfare departments do not give adequate support and instead perpetuate poverty; that housing departments do not give adequate housing; even that civil rights departments do not secure civil rights. Since whites control these institutions, they are held accountable.

Many black people have begun to view the bussing of black children from the ghetto to predominantly white schools as insulting. There is reason to believe that their children might come away from this experience feeling more inferior than they felt before. What else would be a child's reaction on coming home to miserable ghetto living conditions after a day in white society as represented by his new school? Further, such programs seem to be based on the assumption that the schools in the white society are basically superior and preferable, and that black people naturally want their children to experience *white* education. Some black people have come to view this kind of program as a fraud on the black community, saying that the important questions go begging—why don't we control our own schools and why don't we have quality schools in the first place?

Some in the black community have come to view other aspects of integrationist programs as a fraud on the black community, and as treason when black people support them. There have indeed been some unforeseen consequences of the integrationist programs that could only be described as damaging to the black community. There is, for instance, a "brain drain" of talented black people from the black to the white community. As job opportunities open in white society the best qualified black people are the first selected for them. They are thus pirated from the black community to serve the white society and leave their own race to flounder without leadership. An example of this is the case of job opportunities that have opened up in the North in recent years for black college instructors. The steady stream of talented teachers and scholars into these jobs has practically stripped black colleges and universities of their top faculty. The same thing holds true in cases such as with those young black people with degrees in medicine or science. Many would claim that this kind of integration in no way helps the common black man, but actually does serious harm.

The new cry is that there is only one solution to this state of affairs: to organize the black community, and the black community alone, to control its own institutions and to provide opportunities for black people within it. The black community must unite in order to do these things, and it can do so only through attaining "black power."

Black leaders recently have observed that ethnic groups in earlier days were able to avoid exploitation to the extent that their community organized to protect

their interests, gained political office, government jobs and other points of influence, or, in short, gained political power. They further note that entering into coalitions with white liberals such as the NAACP robs the black community of its unity and thus is power. Stokely Carmichael is credited with the first widely-publicized all-out call for the commitment of black people to organize independently of white society and in their own self interest. In Greenwood, Miss., during the 1966 march led by James Merideth, Carmichael said:

> *The only way we gonna stop them white men from whuppin' us is to take over. We been saying 'freedom" for six years and we ain't got nothin.' What we gonna start saying now is* **black power.**[3]

The whole concept of black power was immediately condemned by moderate leaders such as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. as an exercise in irrational frustration. The condemnation was restated by A. Philip Randolph, Bayard Rustin, Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young Jr. in the manifesto issued some months later in 1966, entitled *Crisis and Commitment.*

But the space program, the Vietnam war and other national involvements seemed to absorb many resources that might otherwise have been used to further integration. The pace of integration, as we have seen, was painfully slow in many of its most important aspects. We have gone through summers of urban rioting, burning and killing; the greatest moderate black leader of all was assassinated in Memphis. Much of the thinking of even dedicated integrationists has changed to some degree. A good example lies in the words of Roy Innis of CORE, quoted earlier. What lies behind Innis' statements? This can best be answered in terms of the black power philosophy. The best source of authority for that philosophy is the book by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton: *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America.*[4]

Essentially, they said, the concept is based on the premise, "Before a group can enter the open society, it must close ranks." In order to do this, the black community must elect its own leaders and hold them accountable to the black community and that community alone. In the past, those who had held political office had not represented the interests of the community at all. They had entered into bargains with white liberals and others, and had compromised their trusteeship. One of the most serious mistakes of the past, said Carmichael and Hamilton, was to place too much faith in organizations like the NAACP, which has a large white membership. This kind of coalition tended to dilute black power, often benefiting the white middle income group and a few middle income blacks who had managed to enter the white society. This latter group eventually became alienated from their black brothers and sisters. Black power was in existence, they said, when the black community set its own goals (not merely adopted those of the predominantly white society) and, most important, controlled its own institutions. The black community and its leaders must never be hesitant to challenge white or "Negro"

controlled institutions such as the local board of education or police department. If need be, and if it seems practical, it should not be out of the realm of possibility for the black community to construct a parallel set of completely black-controlled institutions along side of those already in existence. There was no other way out.

To get the program started properly, said Carmichael and Hamilton, the first thing to do was to reject actively the terms of the old civil rights struggle and its aristocracy. These terms or concepts represented ideologies and tactics that in fact had kept black people down and were therefore "irrelevant" to the coming struggle. "Non-violence," for example, was merely a sign to White America that black people would not defend themselves and fight for their rights. "Integration" subordinated black people to White America because the underlying assumption was that Black America was basically inferior. Carmichael and Hamilton said this broke down the motivation of black people and their ability to identify with the black ethnic movement, thereby giving it unity. Above all, they said, nothing that stood in the way of black identification and unity should be tolerated.

The concept of black power has been applied most successfully in campaigns to organize support for black candidates for office in the South and in the urban ghetto of the North and to mobilize the electorate there to get them elected. It has also been the driving force for unity on other issues of importance to the ghetto community such as community control of the schools. But it is important to recall that black power was originally meant as an idea to support a means to an end. Black power was supposed to help set the black community up in a good bargaining position with other groups in the society with regard to the usual *political* process of dividing up the resources available. The black community had never before been a part of this fundamental political process. Rather than asking for freedom, black people would organize, bargain from a position of strength and *demand* a share in the society. Of course, black power recently has tended to be viewed as an end in itself by some separatist groups. The substitution of means for ends is a common phenomenon in social movements. It is generally considered something to be avoided.

Black Nationalism

Black nationalism moves one step beyond black power. In the summer of 1967, several black power groups came together in Newark, N.J. to form the Black Power Conference. Out of that conference came a report that stated in part:

> *"...Be it resolved that the Black Power Conference initiates a national dialogue on the desirability of partitioning the United States into two separate and independent nations, one to be a homeland for white and the other to be a homeland for black Americans."*[5]

Two orientations exist under the black nationalism approach. The first is illustrated by the above quotation, which

is based on the notion that white and black people simply will never mix (integrate) in this society and that we all ought to end the hypocrisy. Here we encounter the argument that black people must have a separate piece of geography they can call their own, in which they have political sovereignty. According to this orientation, black people have been stripped of their heritage through the exploitation of slavery and have never had a "homeland" as other deprived ethnic groups almost always have had. It is often pointed out, for example, that other oppressed minorities such as Mexican-Americans and Puerto Ricans have a homeland in the traditional sense. Further, it is not unprecedented to divide a nation formally into sections when population groups are incompatible. The example that comes to mind in modern times is the partitioning of British India into India and Pakistan because of severe religious differences.

The second orientation in black nationalism is closer to the original black power concept. Here black nationalism is a logically necessary means for providing the emotional attachment to community necessary to further a cultural and social renaissance of black thought and to mobilize the group politically for the realization of black power. Everyone is familiar with the unusually strong emotional attachment an individual is likely to have to that group he calls his nation. Nationalism has traditionally been one of the strongest motivating forces in social movements. The goal of this orientation is to gain some measure of sovereignty over the affairs and institutions in the ghetto.

The move toward black studies in colleges and universities is often of a black nationalism strain. The orientation states that since most of the learning in American colleges and universities is based on western European and/or North American experience (thus white experience), this learning is "irrelevant" to a black man. Only "Negroes," say those who take the most extreme position, want to get such a white education. Thus the next logical step is to insist that the black community comprising part of the academic community have the freedom to set up its own programs relevant to black experience in Africa and America. That community should then have continuous control over the program, including the selection of faculty.

In the case of either of the two orientations discussed above, however, we have the description of the truly separatist ideal. In the goals set forth there is no provision for the joining of White America and Black America in even the distant future.

While black nationalism may not be essential for an understanding of the next category of separatist thought, the concept of black power is. As we all learn quite early, the power that any group has in the American system may be based on economic factors as well as purely political ones such as the winning of political office. Persons or groups that control wealth in the system hold power in it.

Black Economic Development

During the presidential campaign of 1968, Richard Nixon and Hubert

Humphrey adopted the phrases "black capitalism" and "black enterpreneurship" respectively. Many black leaders today say these phrases are irrelevant to the black community. The underlying idea makes some sense, but these are concepts based on western European (white) economic experience. They say black economic experience is very different. Very few white people have close ancestors who were considered property and were bought and sold like farm animals. What is needed in the black community, then, is economic development based on any method that works for black people. What is needed is not necessarily capitalism or enterpreneurship or even socialism, but any innovation in economic institutions that allows black people to control the economic aspect of their lives.

The goal is for economic development in the ghetto similar to the task attempted in the developing countries of the world. The similarities between the economic conditions of urban ghettos and those of ex-colonial countries are remarkable. But there is also a big difference. Developing countries are autonomous, they have national sovereignty and are thus able to set their own national goals, adopting any methods that suit them. They surrender this right to control their own destiny only to the extent that they accept "aid" from a more prosperous nation. But the feeling among leaders of these developing nations is that they should attempt to get such aid without any strings attached.

The ghetto community does not have the same ability to control its resources or set its own goals; it is still in reality in colonial status. It is a colonial appendage of a city and a state. For the black economic development approach to work, there must be an increase in the autonomy of the ghetto. But in the recommendations made by advocates of this approach there is very little sympathy for setting up a separate nation with a separate geography and separate institutions. Since pragmatic methods are valued by this group, the feasibility of creating an economically viable society from scratch is not taken seriously.

The only way to proceed, says this group, is to make use of what society and sense of community already exist in the black neighborhoods of urban areas. There are already patterns of economic exchange that should be exploited by the black community for its own benefit. Moreover, steps should be taken to insure that the black community controls the organizations with which it does business to make sure that the community is not systematically drained of its hard-won economic resources.

An astute observer and advocate of the black economic development approach states that the real sickness of Harlem (and other ghettos) is that"... people who live there don't own anything..." He goes on to show that outsiders own 80 per cent of Harlem's business volome while Harlem's half-million people can spend up to a half-billion dollars each year on consumer goods; this is more than the gross national product of some developing nations. Thus most of the capital is siphoned off. He states that we need to

keep it and make it grow, by any means available, but it must be kept *in* the black community.[6]

This review has no doubt raised more questions than it has answered, but the central question remains, can it be integration or must it be separatism? "Which way do we go?"

FOR DISCUSSION

1) What do advocates of "black power" hope to achieve for the black community? Are this approach and the goals sought essentially different from the way that other groups (e.g. the Irish-Catholic-Americans, Jewish Americans etc.) improved themselves in American society? If so, what do you think these differences are?

2) Let us allow that American society is generally pluralistic (having many points of access from which persons and groups can have influence in the system). Is it really possible for an ethnic group to withdraw from the main part of society in a case like this and still improve itself? Why or why not?

3) Should it be a goal for American society to eliminate the ethnic differences that exist from one group to another to the extent that it can be done or could it be possible to reach real equality while retaining important cultural differences?

4) If some form of separatism seems desirable or necessary what avenue would you take in terms of priority, economic development, nationalism, political power or what? In other words, how would you go about it - what would you do first?

5) There is evidence that student radicals and feminists would like to form a coalition with black people in this country. Do you think it is possible under current conditions? Would it be mutually beneficial? For integration? For separatism?

6) What are the limits of the "racial balance" approach? Should school children, for instance, be using books showing characters who are 11 percent black? Should not black studies programs have no more than 11 percent black students? Should every institution in the U.S. have 11 percent black representation? More? Less?

7) In the recent news much is said about decentralizing the control of the public schools. Is there any way such a program could support integration? Is this a strictly separatist idea?

FOOTNOTES

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6. Roy Innis, "Separatist Economics: A New Social Contract," The American Assembly, *Black Economic Development* (Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 50-59.

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COMMUNITY CHANGE

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"So foul a sky clears not without a storm." *King John*, Act IV, Scene 2.

In the aftermath of the racial disorders which tore apart cities across the nation in the summer of 1967, the President of the United States established the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders and directed it to answer three basic questions:

What happened?

Why did it happen?

What can be done to prevent it from happening again?

After months of investigation, the Commission issued its now famous report, which included the following warning:

"Our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal."

To reverse this trend, programs requiring "unprecedented levels of funding and performance" would be needed. The Kerner Commission called for a "commitment to national action, compassionate, massive and sustained, backed by the resources of the most powerful and richest nation on this earth."

Three years have passed since the Kerner report was issued, and the commitment has not been forthcoming. The United States still does not have a national urban policy. National priorities continue to focus resources and energies on Indo-China and the moon rather than Harlem and Watts, on inflation and recession rather than poverty and pollution.

Our cities are in trouble. The problems which collectively have come to be called the "urban crisis" persist—in housing, education, employment, public health and safety, poverty and pollution, to name just a few. High taxes and inflationary prices add to the burden. Central city areas continue to become the location for the poor, lower class, unskilled, poorly educated, old and black, while their suburban rings contain millions of Americans who have reached higher levels of income, education and occupation.

These problems are made even more complex by another, more basic problem facing our metropolitan areas—the inability to organize the necessary resources, power and authority to deal with rapid urban change. It is not for lack of resources or information (though these are not unlimited) that the problems of our cities remain unsolved. The United

States is the richest nation in the history of the world. It has the technological capability to send man to the moon and beyond. Surely this combination of resources and technology is adequate to solve the kinds of problems facing our local communities.

The core of the urban crisis is political and organizational. To the extent that the problems of crime, poverty, inadequate housing and pollution are susceptible to solution, the barriers to change result from the conflict among individuals and groups having differing interests and goals, differing views on what should be done and when it should be done, and differing amounts of resources and influence to pursue their interests and goals.

If the problems facing our cities are fundamentally political and organizational, then the solution to these problems must also be political and organizational. In this, the last part of our discussion of the *Causes and Consequences of the Urban Crisis*, we want to explore the dimensions of possible solutions to this political-organizational crisis.

Toward a Solution of the Urban Crisis

First, the intellectual, technological and financial resources of the nation must be brought to bear on the problems of the cities. The development of a successful national urban policy depends upon an increased availability of resources and an increased willingness on the part of policymakers to commit these resources to urban problems. Costs of solutions to these problems will be great. In the area of housing, for example, Congress in the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1968 determined that the construction or rehabilitation of some 26 million housing units, 6 million of them for low and moderate income families, would be required in this decade if we are to adequately house our population.

Pollution control also will be costly. One indicator of the magnitude of the cost of dealing with the pollution problem is a New York State bond issue for one billion dollars passed in 1966 to *begin* the fight against pollution in that state.

Second, existing government arrangements in our metropolitan areas must be reorganized to give government leaders the necessary authority to govern. In the American system of local government, legal authority is so widely diffused that a mayor or city manager usually lacks the authority to accomplish much. He must share political power with the city council, political party leaders and a variety of local interest groups: the business community, labor organizations and the mass media, to name a few. His role becomes that of a political broker, bargaining and compromising a wide variety of competing interests, usually managing to "muddle through."

Today's mayors also find their freedom of action limited by the municipal bureaucracy, the state legislature and the fragmentation of local government units. In many cases, mayors lack effective control over their own administrations. For example, while they generally have appointment and

removal powers over department heads, many important positions below that level are protected by Civil Service regulations, even though the positions influence public policy.

Further, municipal government is legally a "creature of the state." City taxing and borrowing powers are subject to state statute or constitutional provisions. If the city does not have its own "home rule" charter, such local matters as the term of office of the mayor, size of the city council and the city's administrative organization are determined by the state. City powers have been interpreted narrowly by state courts, and rural-dominated state legislatures have not been responsive to urban needs, although this may be changing with legislative reapportionment.

Finally, the proliferation of government units at the local level makes it difficult to plan and coordinate government activity in the metropolitan area. In addition to cities and towns, counties and school districts, a myriad of special districts are responsible for such diverse functions as fire protection, sanitation control, port and terminal facilities operations, and even cemetery management. In 1967, the nation's 227 metropolitan areas were served by more than 20,000 independent government units—an average of 90 local governments per metropolitan area. These government units range in size from villages of less than 100 population to large central cities like New York and Chicago. The Chicago metropolitan area is an extreme example of the fragmentation of local government—1,113 local governments serve the area (186 per county). These local governments adopt and enforce laws, regulate activities, provide services and compete in a struggle for revenue sources. They have the authority to raise money by service charges or taxes, or both. In some cases a dozen local government units have the power to tax the same parcel of land. It is not uncommon for a resident of a municipality to pay taxes or service fees to support a city government, a county government, a fire protection district, a sanitation district, a public school district, a Junior College district, and perhaps even a bi-state authority. The result for the citizen is an incredibly complex system of local government, with unclear lines of responsibility, great difficulty in coordinating public efforts and inequities in government service.

Metropolitan school districts are an interesting example of the need for administrative reform. In the St. Louis metropolitan area, for example, the city school system had a 1966 enrollment of 116,000, one school board (12 members), one school superintendent and one supporting administrative staff. In contrast, St. Louis County, with a school enrollment of about 163,000 had 26 separate boards of education with 164 board members, 26 superintendents, and 26 administrative staffs. Such a situation is uneconomical, inefficient, and inequitable. School districts cannot take advantage of the greater purchasing power and economies of scale offered by consolidation into a smaller number of districts. Needless

duplication occurs, from superintendents to special teachers and equipment. Inequities occur because some communities lack the industrial/commercial tax base to support education. The affluent community of Clayton, Missouri is able to provide a high level of per-pupil expenditures with a 1966 tax rate of $2.72 per $100 valuation, while economically depressed Kinloch had to tax itself heavily ($4.23 per hundred) to provide a minimum level of support.

The number of local government units in the United States (currently about 80,000) must be drastically reduced–by at least 75 per cent. Also, the number of overlapping layers of local government must be significantly reduced. To accomplish this, constitutional revision will be necessary in most states –to provide for revisions of boundaries, consolidation and extension of legal authority, and elimination of unnecessary layers of government.

Third, citizen support is necessary for the successful development of a national urban policy. Public support is needed before any commitment can be made which would involve the reallocation of such vast public resources. Further, the public must be willing to accept the consequences of successful programs (in education, housing, employment, etc.). That is, communities must be willing to accept integrated schools, low income housing and minority group employment opportunities. Finally, urban programs can succeed only if programs and people are effectively linked. This means citizen participation in programs which affect the community.

Citizen Participation

Citizens participate in the community political process in a variety of ways. Voting in an election, organizing a neighborhood improvement campaign, writing a letter to a public official, joining in a protest march on city hall– these are just a few of the ways in which citizens make their views known and their interests felt.

The real question is not *whether* to have citizen participation, but rather *how much and what kinds* of participation. What role should the ordinary citizen play in the shaping of public policy?

A few years ago, citizen participation simply meant that occasionally citizens' committees were established by local governments on certain community problems. Citizens who were appointed to the committees were usually middle-class, civic-minded representatives of the community's "establishment." Generally they were the same persons who had served on previous committees and commissions.

Today, citizen participation means something quite different. Since the War on Poverty introduced the concept of "maximum feasible participation" of the poor in community action programs, low-income residents of central cities across the country have demanded an increased voice in the formation of policies and practices of the institutions and social programs that affect the course of their lives.

In the anti-poverty program, citizen participation has meant:

- Resident participation in the decision-making structures of the

poverty programs, the neighborhood and city-wide poverty boards.
- Resident participation as staff workers in the poverty program.
- Residents organized into active constituency groups to serve as resources for programs run by professional staff, as feedback for program evaluation, and as pressure groups to influence the activities of the local projects.

In education, citizen participation has meant the demand for decentralization of city educational systems and community control of schools. The most significant general proposal for community control of schools is the Bundy Plan. The Bundy Plan suggests a city-wide educational structure responsible for capital construction, special schools, establishing minimum standards and for provision of voluntary services at the request of local school districts. Community school boards, with members selected from the community, would control the expense budget, personnel, curriculum and student policy in the local community school district.

Opposition to citizen participation has come from mayors who resist the loss of control over federal funds which are channeled through their offices; from government bureaucracies not adequately prepared to respond to the demands of non-technical, uninformed and uneducated client groups; from the educational establishment, including administrators fearing loss of administrative control over the school system and teachers fearing loss of job security, promotion and tenure rights, etc.; and from private vested interests which benefit from existing conditions in the community.

Many urban renewal administrators, for example, argue that neighborhood citizens would not act responsibly, would reflect a narrow neighborhood-based interest rather than the interests of the whole community, and would prolong the planning process excessively, endangering the hoped-for success of the renewal effort. Private developers and real estate promoters fear that citizen participation in urban renewal planning could harm their business endeavors in the renewal area.

Centralization vs. Decentralization

We are faced with a seemingly paradoxical situation. On one hand, drastic changes are necessary if local government is to develop the administrative, financial and political capability to deal with metropolitan area problems. Consolidation of the system of fragmented, overlapping units of local government is necessary to permit economics of scale, area-wide planning and equities in finance.

On the other hand, government must recognize the demand of citizens to participate in the decision-making process of government. Government must realize that it must share important decisions with the people who will be most affected by them. This means a decentralization of government to permit citizens to have a greater voice in government decision-making, greater access to government and to public services, and a greater degree of control over the government

bureaucracies which carry out public policy.

Can local government be organized to provide the capability to deal with metropolitan area problems while at the same time recognizing citizens' demands for a voice in community decision-making?

The CED Report

The Committee for Economic Development, a highly respected research organization sponsored by a group of the nation's leading businessmen, issued a report in February 1970, entitled, *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas*. In the report, the Committee urged a drastic reform of our present system of local government. Specifically, CED recommends a dual-level system of government for metropolitan areas:

"To gain the advantages of both centralization and decentralization, we recommend as an ultimate solution a governmental system of two levels. Some functions should be assigned in their entirety to area-wide government, others to the local level, but most will be assigned in part to each level."

The CED proposal envisions a sharing of power by local communities and the area-wide government. Local communities would have a measure of control over the functions assigned entirely to the area-wide government, but their participation would be limited mainly to hearings, powers of delay, and in some cases, the right to veto.

The area-wide government could in many cases simply be a reconstituted county government with broader powers, a representative legislative body, a strong chief executive, and a professional administrative staff.

In cases where the metropolitan area spreads over several counties, new jurisdictions would have to be created to encompass the entire metropolitan area. More complex would be the situation in which the metropolitan area crossed state lines. In this case, interstate agreements would be required to create a single, multi-functional area-wide government.

In addition to area-wide government, the CED recommends a community-level system of government composed of "community districts." In many suburban areas, existing municipalities with functions adjusted to the new two-level system could constitute the community districts. These municipalities are often "natural areas" with well-developed community identities. In central cities, neighborhoods with strong community identities could constitute the community districts. In areas of the city where sense of community is low, the creation of smaller local political units with meaningful decision-making power could serve to generate a new sense of community identification.

In all this activity, state and federal governments should play an important role. First, state and federal aid should be used as an incentive to promote the restructuring of government in metropolitan areas. In the past, state and federal aid have been used successfully to promote consolidation of school districts by states. Second, state government should assist the

restructuring of government by enacting enabling legislation to permit the creation of a dual-level system of government and provisions for the creation of community districts, with a great deal of flexibility allowed in determining size and government organization.

Under the CED's proposed two-layer system of metropolitan government, some functions would be assigned primarily to the area-wide government, some would be assigned primarily to the community districts, and some would be shared. Planning is an obvious function to be assigned to the area-wide government if the area is to be developed effectively. Local planning agencies would continue to develop plans for the community, but these community plans must fit into the overall area plan.

In the area of zoning, for example, the area-wide government would have the power to outline broad areas of industrial, commercial, and residential activity. Local communities then would develop zoning plans within smaller sub-areas. This would permit local communities to maintain their own character, while allowing for a balanced development of area resources. It also would prohibit local communities from using zoning as a tool to exclude minority groups. Other functions which would center at the metropolitan level include transportation, water supply, and sewage disposal.

Welfare is a function in which the local community can play an important role. If the current pressures on the federal government to assume a larger share of the financial responsibility for welfare prove successful, community district welfare departments could serve as a protector of welfare recipients rights, as well as providing the range of services which are needed beyond the monthly welfare check. Another example of a function performed wholly at the local level is rubbish and garbage collection.

Functions which would be shared by both levels of government include education, public health, housing and police protection. In the area of police protection, for example, training and inspection and operations such as laboratories, communications systems, record systems and detective services should be located at the central level, while the most sensitive police function, that of patrolling, should be decentralized and under some community control.

CED is recommending a dual system of government for metropolitan areas: a single area-wide general purpose government sharing powers with smaller local units reflecting community identities. While they urge the consolidation of government units, they also recommend the use of existing governmental units—counties and municipalities—whenever possible, to create new types of governments. CED recognizes the political realities of restructuring local government, and realizes the reforms they propose will meet with political opposition. Metropolitan reorganization, if it occurs, will come only through a slow, evolutionary process.

The steps must begin now, if our cities are to survive as tolerable if not enjoyable places in which to live.

Questions

1) If neighborhood people do not have the technical competence to make policy decisions, should they receive training to participate effectively in planning, or should their role be limited to an advisory one?

2) The feeling of powerlessness and inability to control one's destiny is pervasive among low-income people, affecting every aspect of their lives. Can citizen participation be useful as a means for building the confidence and ability of the poor to deal with the range of problems they face?

3) If your community were to undertake government reorganization along the lines recommended by the Committee for Economic Development, which functions do you think should be centered at the area-wide level? Which functions should be centered at the local level? Which functions should be shared by both levels?

SUGGESTED READING

Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders

Hans B.C. Spiegel, *Citizen Participation in Urban Development* (Washington, D.C.: NTL Institute for Applied Behavioral Science, 1968)

Committee for Economic Development, *Reshaping Government in Metropolitan Areas* (New York: Committee for Economic Development, 1970)